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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SOVIET PROFESSOR IN POLAND--On 5 July, a discussion was held in the Polish Institute for International Affairs [PISM]. R. G. Bogdanov, deputy director of the U.S. and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, took part in the discussion. Employees of the PISM and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as journalists, also participated. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jul 83 p 2]

CSO: 2600/1064

POLITICAL CONDITIONS EVALUATED

Vienna TAGEBUCH in German No 6, Jun 83 pp 20-21

[Article by Zdenek Mylnar: "Normalizing Normalization?"]

[Text] Fifteen years after the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, there appears to be no lack of speculation and surmises about what will happen in the post-Brezhnev phase, because if a monument for immobility and stagnation has been erected anywhere, it has been done in Prague.

Half a year after Yuriy Andropov assumed power, there is speculation in Prague—not only behind the scenes of political organizations but also in the taverns—primarily about possible personnel changes. The main figures of the Husak-Bilak regime already are generally referred to in the past tense. The man who for many years has aspired to the top position of power in the event that a more rational course is taken, Prime Minister Strougal, appears to have dropped out from the race in this crucial phase because he is seriously ill. And thus the surmises about rising and falling stars in the domestic political sky resemble the guesses about who is going to win a race without a solid favorite: the throne in the party apparatus, it is said, will be by Miklos Jakes, and the current minister of the interior Obzina, is to become prime minister.

The speculation also touches on fallen personages, with names of 1968 such as Cernik or Cisar, and of course also Dubcek, being circulated again from time to time. During his stay in Prague in January, Andropov reportedly met with several former Czechoslovak Communists expelled from the party for years. It is said that he also acknowledged with thanks a letter of congratulations allegedly sent to him by Dubcek.

It stands to reason that many a political bureaucrat in Czechoslovakia is apt to break out in a cold sweat on hearing such horror rumors. But even without such rumors there is ample reason for insecurity in the political organizations. It is remarkable that for more than half a year the CPCZ has not met for a plenary session. Not even in honor of the 35th anniversary of the "victorious February of 1948" could the comrades make up their minds to convene at least a show session of the Central Committee plenum. This is an unmistakable sign that big revolutionary changes are pending. At such moments any experienced apparatchik draws the conclusion not to risk

anything and to wait and see who wins. Insecurity prevails in political entities ranging from the party secretariat to embassy offices.

We cannot judge which of the various rumors corresponds to the truth and which is pure invention. But that is not a prerequisite for being able to say what is in store for the power elite in Czechoslovakia in this anniversary year, 15 years after the "Prague Spring" was smashed.

Stagnation Rather Than Stability

The past 13 years in Czechoslovakia illustrate where the idea that stability is a state of affairs leads to. It started with the assignment of posts. For all of 13 years the top position of power has remained in the same hands; and in the immediate party leadership not a single person has been relieved. This is also something unusual in the parties of the Soviet bloc. And what is even worse is that the situation is similar at the lower levels of the party hierarchy. In Czechoslovakia there are places of work where the same chairman of the party organization and the same trade union chairman have been holding office the entire time. Those who were assigned their posts as reliable representatives of the "policy of normalization" after the big purge in 1970 are still in them, in many cases despite the fact that they have been barely effective or that the results of their work have been downright disastrous. Positions of power and management in many cases in Czechoslovakia have turned into sinecures distributed after 1968 for "meritorious service in behalf of normalization."

It need not be emphasized that this has further increased such already growing negative phenomena as corruption and patronage. In this sense, public life in Czechoslovakia has visibly Russified in the past 13 years. In the process, the "working masses" have of course also learned from the rulers. Bribery, theft and corruption of all kinds today dominate everyday life in Prague to a point where a visit from abroad can hardly tell the difference from the traditional Balkans and old Turkey.

The general stagnation and corruption resulting from the "policy of normalization" can, however, hardly be to the liking of the new man in power in Moscow. Andropov's first target was these phenomena in Brezhnev's heritage in the USSR, and he certainly will not tolerate them in the satellite countries either. Among the rumors circulating about his stay in Prague, one should give credence to the assertion that Andropov told some of his friends among the Prague functionaries that it is necessary in Czechoslovakia "to normalize normalization." In Andropov's opinion, a policy of normalization per se certainly was necessary after the reformist heresy of 1968 had been smashed, but the new master of the Kremlin feels that this policy was not executed properly, and often even very poorly. If the result is a stagnating, ineffective system involving corruption and sinecures, the new chief in Moscow will not stand for it, and those indissolubly connected with this state of affairs will have to go.

This sounds positive per se, and there is no reason to refuse to believe that the new Moscow ruler holds these views. It would not be a good thing however, if someone thought that this was an adequate prescription for curing all the ills of "normalized" Czechoslovakia. Besides, it is also doubtful whether "normalizing the normalization" in Czechoslovakia would in fact be possible without consequences that are not desired either by Andropov or any of those whom he might put in leading posts in Prague and Bratislava.

It happens that the reason why Czechoslovakia is dominated by stagnation rather than stability is that there have been quite a number of violent gross interventions in the life of Czechoslovak society in the past 15 years. The first of these was the Soviet military intervention in August 1968 and the ensuing lasting occupation of Czechoslovakia, connected with the persecution of anyone resisting it. This made it impossible to put through in Czechoslovakia the kind of specific, more democratic forms of leadership which alone would have been able to arouse people's initiative and to erect a wall against the growing indifference toward public affairs and against the corruption and arbitrariness of the incompetent power elite.

The second negative intervention was that forcible action was taken against a necessary political step in 1973 for a "national reconciliation" in the spirit of the Kadar statement "whoever is not against us is with us." At that time, roughly 5 years after the intervention, such a policy might still have prevented a stagnation, as it had similarly done in Hungary in 1961. The third gross interference in the life of Czechoslovak society was the attempt by the Husak regime to purchase the passive loyalty of the population without regard for the consequences. The basis of the general stagnation and corruption, you see, is the practice, being followed by the regime on a large scale, of demanding of the citizens primarily that they assent patiently to what is pronounced from above.

If that is the most important civic virtue demanded by the regime, the result after 15 years cannot be any different from what it happens to be, And in fact the Husak regime for the past 15 years has been rewarding passivity and has been punishing anything smacking of independent activity, independent thinking, criticism of instructions and striving for a change in the status quo.

Anyone who would like to make an effort to overcome the current general stagnation in Czechoslovakia is faced primarily with a dual difficulty: how can one cut the Gordian knot of the problems which have accumulated for years in all spheres of social life, and how is one to convince the people--not only those who are governed but also those who govern--that there is any sense in making an effort to improve conditions? This is also true of the most important sphere--the sector of economic life. Here too it is a question of a Gordian knot of various problems which accumulated over a period of many years and were not solved even when it was crystal clear what the causes were and what was bad.

Just a glimpse at the economic results in the worst year so far, 1981, illustrates this. For the first time in 20 years, national income dropped below that of the preceding year, while the cost of living rose, the supplies for the population deteriorated (something which continued in 1982, when the consumption of meat decreased by 8 percent as a result of price rises), the number of completed housing units decreased (by 31 percent compared with 1980), labor productivity in the economy dropped, the energy situation worsened and the situation in foreign trade both with the capitalist countries and with the USSR took a turn for the worse.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Bukowno Party Organization Activities

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 23 May 83 p 3

[Article by Marek Cygan: "People Are Linked by Common Problems" under the rubric "Party Organization in the City and Gmina [Parish] of Bukowno"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /When during my first visit to Bukowno I listened with disbelief and a slightly ironic smile to the assurances about the civic commitment of the inhabitants to beautifying the town. I was immediately told: "Let's get into the car and drive around the city and gmina. You'll see for yourself that even now work is under way on several projects." The people here had besides no occasion for losing interest in civic work. This is how was built the popular--not only in Bukowno--recreational center with its cluster of lovely swimming pools. Volunteer civic efforts built a medical dispensary and sports facilities in the town as well as roads, fire brigade houses and rural houses of culture in many villages./

When One Asks About the Motivation for Such Attitudes

Wlodzimierz Prusak, first secretary of the City-Gmina PZPR Committee answered by citing a concrete example: /"The local fishermen's club has recently become autonomous. I was invited to its meeting. The fishermen spoke about the usefulness of building this or that. I answered: why not, the funds will somehow be found, but you have to help yourselves in the work. So the construction of a basin that can be used for fishing or even for canoeing and sailboating has already been completed to everyone's satisfaction. People simply are willing to do volunteer civic work if its advantages are measurable in terms of everyday use."/

Bukowno is located in the eastern part of Katowice Province. The town has a population of 8,000 and the gmina, over 10,000.

The presence of two large industrial plants affects the nature of the town and its environs. The BOLESŁAW Mining-Metallurgical Works [ZGH] are one of the country's largest producers of zinc, cadmium and lead. They employ about 5,700 persons and are the principal source of funding for the town's most urgent needs. But they also make a substantial "contribution" to local environmental pollution. So does, besides, the JAWORZNO-SZCZAKOWA Floor Sand Mine.

This cursory review of the aspects of Bukowno and its environs will be of help in presenting the town's big and little problems. A major role in their solution is played by the city-gmina party organization. It has currently almost 1,700 members and candidate members. Comrade Prusak said: /"Our ranks were left by few comrades. At the end of 1980 we had 1,880 members. Last year about 15 or so new members joined the party."/ Comrade Stefan Rogolski, first secretary of the PZPR committee of the town's largest 1,200-member party organization at the BOLESŁAW ZGH, commented: "Doubtless we owe this to our efforts to always mingle with the party rank-and-file and listen to the opinions of the workforce."/ In Bukowno this is perhaps easier than anywhere else. For the socio-occupational structure of the local party organization is the most heavily weighted in favor of workers for the province as a whole. Workers account for 71.8 percent of its membership (figures as of 15 April of this year).

Recently many things had to be attended to at ZGH. Comrade Rogolski said: /"It can't be said that all the conflicts have been resolved. Some things are governed by regulations that can't be avoided. On the whole, however, it can be said that the atmosphere at our plant is pretty good."/

The principal source of conflicts is the nature and structure of the plant, which are hard to change much. As the plant's very name indicates, both miners and metallurgists work here. It is a fact that many metallurgical workstations involve as much arduous and dangerous work as does mining. Yet miners have greater privileges ensuing from the differences in collective bargaining agreements. So people say:

We Enter and Leave by the Same Gate

and complain that essentially the purpose of their work is the same, and so it is unfair that some receive an allotment of 6 tons of coal and others less. This is just one example; there are many other differences.

This year the plant's party organization and *aktiv* resolved to somehow alleviate the conflicts. The Day of the Metallurgist was celebrated at the BOLESŁAW ZGH more solemnly than ever before. Bonuses, distinctions, decorations were awarded. In its everyday work, too, the party has something to be proud of at the ZGH. The anti-inflation and conservation program has already been discussed at party meetings and open department conferences. This has resulted in concrete accomplishments intended in particular to reduce the plant's huge consumption of energy.

At the ZGH a need for more active and aggressive ideological and agitation work is seen. The plant party committee people said: /"For the present we have to meet the needs with our own resources; we are using plant and city lecturers. But adding the position of salaried ideological secretary would be useful. The huge amount of work awaiting us in this field is difficult to handle by means of volunteers."/

Perhaps it would be worthwhile to concentrate effort on expanding the volunteer *aktiv*?

At any rate, workers want to discuss their affairs and national affairs. The plant party *aktiv* regularly participates together with representatives of the management in open department conferences. Recently Antoni Gryniewicz, under-secretary of state at the Office of Prices, took part in one of these open party meetings and answered for a long time questions from the entire workforce.

The problems of the workforce of the Mining-Metallurgical Works are, of course, somewhat different from the rhythm of life of the town and gmina, from the problems of the entire population. But

Problem Number One is the Need for Environmental Protection

To visualize the scale of this problem, below are several facts. On 1,700 of the 2,800 hectares of cropland no food crops for human consumption should be grown in principle. Since the mid-1970s cherries have practically ceased to bloom in the local areas. In some years the trees shed their foliage in July. Children and youth get sick here definitely more frequently. These are only some of the symptoms of a disease called environmental pollution. Its sources also are known. Of a certainty, the presence of the zinc, cadmium and lead processing plant is harmful. To be sure, much is being done at the ZGH to reduce this harmfulness: already several years ago a special filter system had been developed, patented and installed there. Then there is also the pollution caused by the sand from the quarries which in summer, in the presence of southerly winds, spreads all over the city. But--it is said--all this is not the most dangerous source of pollution. Most of the noxious smoke and vapors "flies over" from outside the boundaries of Bukowno Gmina. The biggest "poisoners" are the KATOWICE Iron and Steel Plant, the JAWORZNO I, II and III electric power stations and the SIERSZA Power Plant, which is decorated with Poland's tallest smokestack.

Some may say that the situation here is no better than in many other industrial areas of Silesia. But it is also true that Katowice, Chorzow and Bytom find it easier to procure the even so insufficient funding for environmental protection than does little Bukowno. Thus, the Bukowno community is accomplishing much with its own resources. In this field, too, the party organization plays an active and often inspirational role. Following prolonged attempts a protective zone set aside exclusively for reforestation was finally established around the Mining-Metallurgical Works. The ZGH itself is doing a lot for environmental protection.

The situation is, or rather was, different at the Flooring Materials Enterprise, that is, the sand quarry. Although it had been excavating Gmina land for years, this enterprise did not feel duty-bound to participate (even if only financially) in restoring the environment it polluted. The party echelon and municipal authorities had tried for a long time to force the quarry to help. They succeeded late last year. The aktiv from Bukowno met with the quarry's management in Katowice. A better climate has been created, as the saying goes--for the time being, verbally; it is to be hoped that it will be a better natural climate as well. Already last year the quarry donated 5 million zlotys to the town, and this year it promises to give more. The city and gmina authorities have gained the right to counsel on the directions of the development and natural restoration of the worked quarry areas.

In Bukowno it was also proposed that a detailed local pollution map be prepared and provide a legal basis for demanding appropriate compensation from the industrial plants--particularly those located outside the gmina--which cause environmental pollution, with the funds thus obtained to be spent on environmental protection.

The party organization in Bukowno also tackles other socially important but

complicated and controversial problems.

The organization has resolved a sharp conflict within the board of the Volunteer Fire Department that threatened to disrupt its operations. For a long time, too, the economic performance of the local Agricultural Producer Cooperative has been publicly and sharply criticized. Last year, intervention by, among others, the party organization resulted in replacement of the cooperative's chairman. Now the cooperative is a model of good management--so is being said in the gmina.

Speaking of personnel changes, it should be stated that in the last 2 years, that is, since the "tenure" of the new first party secretary in Bukowno, new persons have been named to nearly all the important party, administrative and economic positions. Comrade Prusak smiled: /"It is said that during my term of office a virtual personnel earthquake took place here. I'm convinced that these changes were needed. New blood was thus brought to some already fossilized structures. Besides, measurable results of these shifts can be seen everyday. In recommending candidates for managerial and administrative posts we guided ourselves not only by the criterion of party membership but also by professional expertise. Many important posts are held by non-party members."/

The comrades from Bukowno, particularly those belonging to the PZPR organization at the Mining-Metallurgical Works also have a certain personal problem. To them this problem is that of preserving that public trust which they regained by such arduous efforts. At the plant party committee people said: /"When we decide to withdraw a party recommendation for some or other comrade, we do it on the basis of a thorough evaluation of his attitude and familiarity with the mood of the workforce. We wish that some outside activists would show more trust in our decisions. It would be unfortunate if an ill-considered decision by a superior party echelon to whom an appeal is made were to ruin the atmosphere at the plant and cause the entire workforce to lose its trust in us."/

The activation of the community, and not only--as some think--increase of trust in the authorities, has been promoted by, among other things, the community meetings with the city and gmina aktiv initiated by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. Zygmunt Stroj, chairman of the City-Gmina PRON Council, said: /"Between November of last year and April 22 such meetings were held. They are successful, especially in the countryside. We gathered considerable information on human problems and troubles. Public transit, housing construction, health, [farm] expropriations--such are the problems which we--the authorities and PRON participants--must solve jointly. Because nothing else links people together as much as the need to overcome problems common to all."/

Building Confidence in Party Organizations

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 23 May 83 p 3

[Article by (bur): "Rebuilding Trust" under the rubric "At Party Organizations"]

[Text] The situation of the plant party organization at the IRENA Domestic Glass Works [HSG] in Inowroclaw, as well as within that organization itself, is, according to comrade Henryk Mazur, first secretary of the plant party committee, extremely complex. It is not easy to retain one's balance after turning a sharp curve, especially in a situation in which the place of the party organization at the plant is misinterpreted by some of the managerial personnel, party groups have been lost and the post-August schism of the workforce still is tangible.

Also the young leadership aktiv of the party organization needed time to consolidate itself.

A series of conferences and meetings during the last 15 or so months confirmed the complex situation of the plant party organization and pointed to the still slow pace of its consolidation. It was very difficult to develop an atmosphere of joint action and resourcefulness, and even attendance at meetings had varied greatly, ranging from 30 to 70 percent. Thus the young aktiv chose the road of talks and persuasion in order to rebuild party groups and their activism.

Party groups once passed the test at the IRENA. It is easier for party groups to take a shared position on "departmental" problems and attempt to resolve them. It also is easier to spread information to comrades and the entire workforce via party groups. This has been accepted by the comrades from the branch party organizations [OOP] active in the warehouse departments, where the groups already are operating.

The most difficult situation exists at the three OOPs in the decoration department, where the crew are very young. These OOPs contain most comrades who had joined the party during 1975-1980, that is during the era of mass enrollment in the party, and who are ideologically little related to it. It was in these OOPs that most members had quit the party at the IRENA. It is there to this day that pressures and psychological repressions initiated by persons who had once been linked to the extreme undercurrents of the former Solidarity can be witnessed.

The PZPR Plant committee devotes much attention to these OOPs and counts on the cooperation of the plant management with them. But rebuilding trust takes time. Such "organic" work is not favored by the difficult economic situation of the youthful workforce and by the fact that the earnings of the young skilled workers deviate somewhat from those applying at other glass works. Of no help either has been the management's disregard of the opinion of the party organization and other social organizations when adopting decisions on issues important to the workforce.

The plant party organization has succeeded in inspiring for active work the plant NOT [Supreme Technical Organization] and PTE [Polish Economics Society] circles, which undertook to offer courses of instruction for plant personnel on subjects connected to the economic reform. The training activities of the plant party organization itself, which are quite good by now, can be considered successful. Ideological training has been undertaken by all OOPs. But as for the assignment of party tasks to comrades, it could stand improvement. This form of work, which should quicken the activism of every comrade is not, properly speaking, being currently applied at the OOPs.

Some stabilization of the situation at the plant party organization is indicated by the finally halted process of departure of membership (the organization had 570 members in May 1981 and has 420 at present). Until recently still, people were leaving the party on grounds of, among other things, the situation at the enterprise and the failure to protect their interests, but they also spoke of pressures exerted on them.

The young workers at the IRENA are, however, among the most active in the city. The local ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] circle at the plant is large and active. The young people belonging to it learn civic-spirited action. The plant

party committee and the entire party organization attempt to help them and support their initiatives. Possibilities for quickening the workforce's activism also are perceived by comrades in the steadily growing trade-union organization, worker self-government, which was formed early last January.

It can be expected that systematic and consistent work of the aktiv will ultimately produce results, that the entire party organization will perform its duties actively and that it will be increasingly supported by the entire workforce.

Party Tasks in Council Activities

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 24 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (jer): "The Party's Tasks in Energizing the People's Councils"]

[Text] (Own information.) Yesterday in Olsztyn was held a regional conference of the chairmen of party-member groups of WRN [Province People's Council] councilmen and heads of political-organizational departments of the PZPR province committees from the following provinces: Bialystok, Ciechanow, Elblag, Gdansk, Lomza, Ostroleka, Suwalki, Torun and Olsztyn. The meeting was devoted to exchange of experience in implementing the duties ensuing from the following party documents: the position of the Commission on Representative Bodies and Self-Government under the Central Committee on the tasks of party echelons and teams of party-member councilmen in energizing and strengthening the people's councils; the reports on the activities of people's councils and the party's tasks to quicken them; the regulations governing PZPR-member councilmen, and the tasks discussed at the conference of 10 January 1983 of team chairmen and department heads.

The meeting was chaired by Leszek Jaszczewski, deputy head of the Organizational Department under the PZPR Central Committee, and those taking part in the discussions included: Adam Weselak, secretary of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee; Witold Wincenciak, director of the Political-Organizational Department of the Lomza Province PZPR Committee; Jozef Piechocki, chairman of the team of PZPR members of the Bialystok WRN; Eugeniusz Lubowicki, chairman of the team of PZPR members of the Suwalki WRN; Kazimierz Solak, chairman of the team of PZPR members of the Elblag WRN; Wojciech Kurpiel, head of the Political-Organizational Department of the Ostroleka Province PZPR Committee; Roman Kannenberg, head of the Political-Organizational Department of the Torun Province PZPR Committee; Henryk Maslowski, chairman of the team of PZPR members of the Gdansk WRN; Andrzej Wojtczuk, deputy chairman of the Political-Organizational Department of the Ciechanow Province PZPR Committee; Tadeusz Tucholski, deputy chairman of the team of PZPR members of the Olsztyn WRN; Zofia Kucner, editor of the periodical RADA NARODOWA, GOSPODARKA I ADMINISTRACJA; and comrade Misiak, the representative of the Bureau of People's Councils at the Chancery of the Council of State.

Comments by the discussants as well as the closing speech by comrade Leszek Jaszczewski together provided a picture of actions being taken to energize the activities of representative and self-government bodies, as well as of problems and difficulties. We shall consider in a separate article the issues raised at the conference.

Party Program-Elections Campaign in Metallurgy

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 24 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (am): "The Party Approach to Affairs of the Combine and People" under the rubric "Program-Elections Campaign of the PZPR at the KATOWICE Steel and Iron Plant"]

[Text] Last March the plant party organization at the KATOWICE Iron and Steel Plant commenced a program-elections campaign. This decision reflected a positive evaluation of the stabilizing socio-political situation at the combine. The program-elections meetings, from those of the party groups to those of the OOPs [Basic Party Organization] and the plant party conference scheduled for the end of May, represent the summing up of the 18-month period of consolidation of the party at this plant, initiated by the well-known disciplinary decisions following the proclamation of martial law. The then appointed commissary officers of party organizations have, after a year of work, reported on their performance to party members at reports-briefing meetings held during the reports campaign.

The current meetings served to schedule further party work; elections of new officers at Branch Party Organizations also took place.

Program-elections meetings have been ended at party groups and at 42 OOPs, according to comrade Andrzej Hachulski, secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee. He also said that the course so far of the reports-elections campaign provides some picture of the situation at the plant party organization. The results confirm for the most part the selection of those comrades to whom commissary direction of OOPs had been entrusted. At six OOPs the previous secretaries were not, for various reasons, candidates in the elections, and four new OOPs had been formed owing to structural shifts within the plant. Another positive aspect is that workers became the secretaries of the important worker organizations. The first sign of the stabilizing situation of the plant party organization may be the fact that in these last 17 months we admitted 21 candidate members--mostly workers and young people recommended by party members having a long membership seniority and most often by older plant employees. A draft program for the next term of office was prepared and discussed at party groups and OOPs. The course of that discussion also reflects the status of the plant party organization. At the plant-department OOPs the discussion rather focuses on problems associated with working conditions and social services. The workers often raise issues of poor management evident in construction operations, as well as of work discipline. Party members in the plant departments are interested not only in the implementation of their recommendations but also in the end-results. Thus the evaluation of the effectiveness of party work differs depending on the possibilities of the management, the conditions in the city and the economic situation in general.

In this connection, party organizations are not shying away from actions shaping within their communities an atmosphere conducive to an efficient implementation of tasks. This may be exemplified by their active participation in preparing the conditions for the repair drive, which will last only 5 weeks. The finale of the related actions so far was the joint session of the Executive Board of the Plant Party Committee at the KATOWICE Iron and Steel Plant with the Executive Board of the Plant Party Committee at the Metallurgical Repair Enterprise [HPR] with the participation of the political-economic management of the HPR and the plant as well as of the departments in which the repair will be conducted and the HPR units which will conduct it.

Ideological-political work is undertaken to a smaller degree. Nevertheless, discussion of broad political problems is continuing, as reflected, e.g. in the resolution condemning the discriminatory policy of the United States against Poland, which was voted by the party organization at the Railroad Rolling Stock Plant.

The cadre of lecturers within the plant party organization is being restored. The OOPs now more rarely ask the plant party committee for lecturers at their meetings, since they are training their own members for this task. At some cells, particularly those whose secretaries are comrades with considerable party experience, the attitudes of party members are systematically evaluated. Recently, party interviews conducted at the OOP of the roller machining department culminated in, among other things, requests to void low party penalties. There also occur instances of decisions disciplining those party comrades who do not perform their statutory obligations. The habit of systematic evaluation of the attitudes of party members is gradually growing at OOPs. Recommendations for a systematic continuation of the evaluations of managerial personnel also are being strongly posed in the program-elections campaign.

Comrade A. Hachulski said: "The decision to commence the program-elections campaign was made possible by the fact that the basic criteria for the normalization of the situation of the plant party organization had been met. I believe that return to activity within the framework of full statutory principles will be another step forward in the ideological-political consolidation of the party at the steel and iron plant."

Party Debates in Opole Sugar Mill

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 May 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Labecki: "Party Debate at the OPOLE Sugar Mill"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] While traveling to Opole for the meeting of the basic party organization at the local sugar mill, I had thought that I would chiefly learn from the discussion about the celebrations of the centennial of that mill, planned for the end of June. But once I had arrived at this "oldster" mill I listened with great interest chiefly to the truly practical and proprietary-minded discussion of the plant's conservation and anti-inflation plan for 1983-1984.

This program was created collectively, on noting that it would be systematically revised and perfected. This precisely was the purpose of the discussion at the aforementioned meeting.

Already at the beginning of the party dialogue at the Opole sugar mill, one of the comrades, Bonifacy Deczkowski, uttered very weighty words: /"In the past we drafted a great many programs, including conservation programs, though they went under different names. But this was done chiefly for the superior authorities, at their order and to their taste. So that ultimately no one was held responsible. But as for the present program, we are formulating it ourselves, for us and for the country. We simply want to live better."/

In subsequent discussion attention was drawn to various shortcomings at the mill whose elimination would save more zlotys, which in their turn would pile up into

millions. In the opinion of the comrades, the so-called target work days should be assigned to employees, who should be held strictly accountable for them. The principle of accountability for the received materials and tools should similarly be introduced. Although a very large number of tools is recorded in the card-index file, sometimes no tools are available for work.

But how to eliminate those aspects of poor management which are outside the scope of the sugar mill's workforce? How can, for example, paper bag producers from Swiec and Ostroleka be prodded? During the meeting, comrade Stanislaw Pilat recalled: /"In 1967 we used to receive extremely good five-ply tare. But recently we have been receiving three-ply bags manufactured on the basis of an innovative idea. They are shoddy goods, but the innovator even has the nerve to ask customers for their opinion of them."/ This year alone so far comrade Pilat has counted 17,000 damaged bags resulting in the seepage of 40 tons of sugar. Moreover, such bags delay shipments of sugar to customers who moreover receive torn bags with their contents half-scattered."/

This comment was discussed by Zbigniew Laskowski, who declared that most of the country's plants cannot cope with these defective bags. He said: /"What of it if, owing to damage claims, we received 4,000 bags gratis and subsequently a 10-percent price reimbursement, considering that this has not offset the losses sustained by the sugar mills and the more so by the public."

Many comrades sharply opposed the comments on stockpiling of reserves and the faulty performance of the factory's motor vehicle pool. They argued: "How can stockpiles be not accumulated when it is easier to buy a wagonload of the commodity [sugar beets] than several kilograms of it? Who will guarantee that--say--in a month the commodity will definitely be provided?" They said also: "It is true that we are transporting 'mere air,' but what can we do when shipments are scheduled for us at virtually the last minute and we must procure an indispensable spare part which is extremely difficult to obtain. After all, we have now been trying for 3 months to obtain some 'stupid' angle iron."

Comrade Marian Mazurek said: /"We could have more efficient trucks, but they have to be sent for extremely expensive repair to other institutions. So we prefer to repair them on our own. But the problem is that spare parts simply are not available for "KamAZ" [Kama Automotive Plant, USSR] trucks and there are shortages of storage batteries and tires. Recently we have been bartering mash for inner tubes. Thus we patch up our vehicles insofar as we can. In the present situation a complete elimination of idle vehicle runs is simply impossible. We are being inspected, threatened with penalties, sent memos, but no one will tell us what we should carry to Lublin when we drive there for the commodity, since sugar is there already."/

Ultimately the situation was weighted in favor of the motor vehicle fleet by Stanislaw Szachowicz, who reminded those present that he has been driving his "Lublinek" truck for 30 years now. Thus more than one anniversary will be celebrated this year at the sugar mill.

The plant conservation and anti-inflation plan of the OPOLE Sugar Mill contains altogether 16 points. It mentions, e.g. augmenting from 1,250 to 1,270 tons daily the volume of processing during the coming sugar campaign, which will serve to shorten the campaign by 2 days and save 1 million zlotys. Even now it can be stated that this is a difficult task, because the plan for contractual procurements of sugar beets has been fulfilled by as much as 117 percent, so that

it can be expected that there will be lots of the raw material. Another point in the program assumes that the conduct of previously commissioned repair by the mill's own repair brigades should save more than 2 million zlotys. This concerns in particular major overhauls and the replacement of the so-called diffuser bands. Similarly high savings can be obtained by streamlining energy consumption at the mill, especially considering that the outlays on this purpose will be recouped within 3 years.

I cited only a few points from that rich program. But one has also to mention those points which not only are of definite advantage to the mill but also serve what we commonly call the public good. Thus for example, plans exist to streamline the management of liquid wastes chiefly by reducing the quantity of effluents discharged into the Jankowka River, or for additionally kilning lime for the needs of the market.

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CSO: 2600/935

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES NOTED

Katowice Plant Party Selections

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 13 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (bak): "We Elect Comrades Who Have Proved Themselves...: Election Campaign at the Party Organization in the KATOWICE Iron and Steel Plant"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] An election campaign has been under way since April 5 at the party organization of the Metallurgical Combine KATOWICE Iron and Steel Plant. The meetings of party groups--which number more than 170 there--deal with defining more precisely the issues and problems important to everyday party activity. Each of the 38 department party organizations is electing its own statutory officers and adopting own programs of action.

It is worth noting that /in recent years the situation of the PZPR party organization at that plant has differed from that obtaining elsewhere./ It became necessary to change the organizational structure--the previous Factory Committee and lower echelons were disbanded while the management of the organization at the plant level and at individual departments and organizational groups was taken over by commissary secretaries of the plant party committee and the branch party organizations [OOP] together with the PZPR aktiv. A two-level structure was introduced. /Today, after 14 months, the statutory system of elected officers can be restored,/ upon preserving the new organizational structure.

/The party group meetings held so far/--as we are informed by comrades from the plant committee--/confirm the validity of the return to statutory forms./ In the last few months the party organization has grown stronger and largely overcome its inertia; its ability to exercise the function of leadership has been restored and it is again gaining authority among the workforce and management.

New executive boards are being elected at OOP meetings. As recorded in this reporter's notebook, the speakers conclude: /"We are electing as officers those comrades who had proved themselves during a difficult period, whose political and occupational attitude wins respect among not only party members."/

The election-and-program meeting of the OOP at the Coke-Oven Department has already taken place. Comrades at that department bestowed their mandate of trust on the previous aktiv--of the five newly elected members of the OOP executive board, four had held office last year. The previous commissary secretary Stanislaw Gruchot was elected first secretary of the OOP. Thus, the elections confirmed the unquestioned authority of these comrades, won under the difficult conditions of the rebirth of the entire party organization at the Metallurgical Combine in 1982.

At the meeting of the OOP of the Coke-Oven Department the discussion was also centered on important aspects of the decision to resume building a new coke-oven battery--a previously suspended project which is indispensable to the Combine. In addition to technical and organizational problems the discussants chiefly paid attention to human problems--which are particularly important as regards complementing the large construction crew and operational workforce. This refers to such problems as housing, wages, upgrading of qualifications....The issue of posing high political, ethical and occupational requirements to the supervisory staff was raised--both at present on the construction site and in 3 years when this new project will begin to produce the first tons of metallurgical coke. This involves major tasks for the political aktiv, for all party members at the plant.

/In the next few days other OOPs will elect their statutory officers--the comrades from the oxygen department, the machinery and water department, and the auxiliary services..../ All these meetings will be attended by Plant Committee secretaries. The interest in the election campaign is rising. The period of stabilization has been too short to speak of any complete consolidation of the workforce of this metallurgical colossus and its party organization which at present has 2,372 members and candidate members--including 19 new members admitted following the resumption of the PZPR's activity in the plant--but, as ensues from the election meetings, this time has not been wasted.

Opole Party Member Developments

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 14 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by Ryszard Augustyn: "Before the Trial of Character" under the rubric "The Party, Self-Government, Trade Unions"]

[Text] For more than a year now journalists visiting labor establishments in Opole Province for the purpose of reporting on the socio-political situation have been arriving at the identical conclusion: calm. A year ago such calm was something special. Nowadays it would be called a dead rather than an holy calm. The gratification it causes is increasingly dislodged by the apprehension that we are slowly being accustomed to life in the crisis. Recently--following the worker aktiv conference--hopes for some more energetic action were revived. Whether justly, we shall see from the example of the FROTEX Cotton Industry Mill [ZPB]. Below are presented comments by representatives of three organizations responsible for the workforce's morale: Leslaw Jamroz, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee; Krystian Pietrzyk, secretary of the Worker Council; and Jozef Kochanowski, chairman of the plant trade union. The question asked of them was: How do the party, the self-government and the trade union (by order of seniority) cooperate, and when can more obvious effects of that cooperation be expected?

We Wish to Help--Not to Direct

Secretary Jamroz said that the PZPR Plant Committee did not doubt the expediency of reactivating the worker council. "Even before the martial law, that council proved itself a serious body: it undertook no conflict resolutions, knew how to cope with pressures by the former Solidarity and acted for the good of the workforce and the plant. Of its 15 members five, including the chairman, Jerzy Konopka, are party members. The council has been active since last September.

The trade union had its elections a couple of months later. The 15-person council includes as many as 13 PZPR members, among them a Plant Committee secretary, but its chairman is, for a change, a non-party member. Thus we as a party organization have good access to the council and the trade union--perhaps too good as regards the latter. We have no problems in cooperation and maintain good contact. Once a week we meet with the management and once a month we have staff meetings with department heads, and also we meet in full strength at sessions of the Worker Council or the union board. I can even take the floor during discussion. Thus, everything is just fine, although accord "at the top" is only the beginning. To be sure, some of our branch party organizations [OOP] already perform very well and have, in cooperation with social organizations, attended to various issues important to the plant departments at which they operate (e.g. organization of structures, a new incentive system), but there also are departments whose heads pressure the Plant Committee to quicken the activities of their OOPs...Yes, I think that the answer is simple: we do not want to interpret the cooperation from a position of strength, but it requires that we be stronger, especially at the decisive level of the grassroots party elements.

"But I also think that the accomplishments of the Worker Council so far are not so bad. It does not regard its duties as formalities--its sessions always end in lively discussion and it passes in greatly amended form, and sometimes even rejects, many of the resolutions proposed by the management. As for the trade union, it has not been very active yet, being still in the formative stage, but its membership has been growing considerably of late. I am not apprehensive about any conflicts between the party and the self-government or union--not only because I have the reputation of being a conciliatory person. On the other hand, I perceive a number of issues which may cause friction between the council and the union. For example, there is the question of work on free Saturdays--some are already objecting that the effects are insignificant and the cost high. We have our members in both organizations so that, willy nilly, we will have to act as the arbitrator.

An opportunity for a trial of character will be provided by the conservation program. All forces at the plant will co-create it--and often this will entail rather unpopular austerity measures. Then those who genuinely support renewal will distinguish themselves from those who think only of their own comfort. As for us, the conservation program will have to be closely implemented, and under special supervision of the PZPR Plant Committee at that. At the worker aktiv conference in Warsaw I heard the opinion that if programs of this kind also fail then the authorities should not come any more to workers with any new programs.

Everything for the First Time

Krystian Pietrzyk, the secretary of the Worker Council (the chairman happened on that day to be away with a delegation), begins by arguing that good cooperation with partners--the party organization, the trade union or the management--does not imply submissiveness. He enumerates those decisions of the council which disregard the postulates of the management or do not follow the position of the plant party committee. He said: "This happened with regard to the 13 pensions. Our decision was different, even though the opinion of the plant party committee had reached us before the management's draft resolution. But it should not be thought that we revel in being opposed. First of all, who needs quarrels these days? Secondly, we find that our decisions do not please everyone in the

workforce--as known, you cannot please everyone all the time. So why should we complicate our life more? Besides, we assumed that during our first term of office we would concentrate on getting the bearings. Everything is for the first time to us; we have to learn everything and act cautiously. In addition, the economic situation of the enterprise is difficult and the absence of a strong trade union has forced us to act in its stead, so to speak, to defend the interests of the workforce against any inconsiderate decisions of the management. Therefore, we wish the new trade union that it may relieve us of these duties as soon as possible. For we realize that the accomplishments of our council so far have been rather one-sided. When there is cash on the table, we are good at distributing it. But when it is a matter of multiplying that cash or participating in economic decisions, it is worse, especially since we are aware that autonomy is the most important of the "three S's" [samodzielność, samorząd, samofinansowanie]--autonomy, self-government, self-financing (of enterprises)] and that in the present situation that autonomy is limited and even further restricted. Moreover, we are a plant whose production relies most on shipments of raw material and on employment, and so the field of maneuver is limited. Hence we expect no spectacular decisions but rather organic, petty and often thankless prodding and antagonisms.

"And we don't avoid antagonisms--the council is extremely worker-oriented, consisting mostly of workers and foremen with a long seniority, who thus are unafraid. They are wise people, besides. Already at our first session, even before martial law, we spontaneously adopted a resolution for tightening discipline. I mention this so as not to produce the impression that we're bold only toward the management and only when the 13 pensions, that is our own treasury, are concerned. We also attend to less pleasant matters, such as the frightening recent increase in pilferage at the plant. I agree with the thesis that the conservation program may bring to light parochial interests and cause some dissension. It is also likely that we may sometimes have conflicts with the trade union. But we should demolish the stereotype that conflict is bad--because only some ways of resolving it are bad. I think that for the present the situation in this respect is good at the FROTEX and hope that it will continue."

Consolidation Comes First

Jozef Kochanowski, the chairman of the Plant Board of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] of Textile Workers at the FROTEX ZPB, reports that according to latest data the plant union now has a membership of 550 (out of a workforce of 2,800) and that annuitants and pensioners (214 persons) are no longer the majority within the union. "We're still few, but in recent weeks membership has been growing. The climate surrounding the union is slowly improving. It has besides been bad not owing to political reasons but rather owing to financial reasons. Last year the social services commission worked well and demanded no membership dues, so that people became accustomed to that situation. But now that 100 or more zlotys for dues has somehow to be spared. Those who earn little and no longer expect to have children figure that they are not eligible for any union benefits, perhaps death benefits. so they are in no hurry to join. But after all the union is not the Social Security Agency [PZU], and the benefits alone should not be considered. This concerns a more broadly conceived protection of worker interests. We want to show how it works: we already are becoming committed to many issues--we are reorganizing the status of foremen, who have previously not been appreciated enough; we are working on the rehabilitation of the sick and fighting for the age-14 limit [?]. This is not little but then we are still not many, especially for the work to be done. People are

waiting and doubting whether we were entitled to inherit that 800,000 zlotys after the disbanded [Solidarity] trade union--and yet they can come to us and benefit from those funds. Besides they benefit anyway, since we paid all the allowances and benefits due for the first quarter to the tune of about 300,000 zlotys--regardless of whether the beneficiaries were union members or not. I think that reason will slowly begin to prevail despite the still sometimes persisting stereotype that novel thinking means shouting loudly against something and that stereotyped thinking means being quietly in favor of that something.

"As regards cooperation, we have nothing against it--we will agree to all that is consonant with the interests of the workforce and if the need arises we will not be scared to oppose the management. For now this is just words, not deeds, because we still have not had occasion for a clash with the management. Some even say that it is high time for challenging the management, as then we would gain more new members. I think that anyone who says that insults somewhat trade unions and unionists by regarding them as blind and deaf to anything outside their own interests. When I once had proposed at a plant-department conference that inspections at the plant gate be intensified as otherwise all that pilferage would ruin the plant, I was afterward asked whether I should get involved in such matters, whether this is part of trade-union activity. I think that we as a trade union shall not defend theft and drunkenness. We will not approach the conservation program as an attempt to harm the workforce's interests--conservation, if done wisely, benefits instead of hurting."

At the FROTEX not only the party, the self-government and the trade union are drafting the conservation program and preparing to implement it. Any employee may submit suggestions to the radio studio, and department heads have been obligated to put up letterboxes for sounding the opinion of the workforce. The management, which will collect all these data, is working on the draft conservation program; the draft will be commented upon by the team for price and cost analysis. On the part of the PZPR, the executive or plenum of the plant party committee will opine on that program. The other partners in intra-plant democracy will surely also do their part.

Thus only another visit to the FROTEX several months hence will replace a commentary on the comments presented above.

Effects of Party on Social-Political Status

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 14 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by (hp): "Activism of Party Echelons and Organizations Promotes the Stabilization of the Socio-Political Situation"]

[Text] (Own information.) Analysis of a statistical survey and the data of the Province Statistics Office [WUS] indicate that every 12th adult inhabitant of [Rzeszow] Province, every sixth person employed in the national economy and every 31st farmer is a member or candidate member of the PZPR. I took these figures from the document "Analysis of the State and Distribution of Forces of the Province Party Organization in the Light of the Report on Party Members and Candidate Members," which served as a basis for discussion during the session of the Executive Board of the Rzeszow Province PZPR Committee. To be sure, the figures pertain to 1982, but a look backward to the state of the province party

organization in June 1980 would be worthwhile, for then the PZPR had 51,149 members and candidate members in Rzeszow Province, whereas in December 1982 it had 37,234 members and candidate members. Many fewer. But still a large number.

The causes of the numerical decline in party ranks have been talked or written about much. It could be regretted that so many (27 percent) people had abandoned the party or were deleted or expelled from it, but it also could be gratifying that so many had remained. For the party's strength is harbored not in the quantity but in the quality of the work of individuals carrying party cards. The educational background of party members and candidate members appears favorable: 59.4 percent of them have secondary or higher education. Nearly 90 percent of the individuals carrying the red cards derive from worker and peasant families. Thus the party in Rzeszow Province has retained its class character. But there are too few party members among teachers, public health staff and construction workers. Hence the proposals for increasing the influence of PZPR members include the need to admit to the party primarily candidates from these occupational and professional groups. Similarly the road to the party is open to good workers, peasants and representatives of the intelligentsia, to all who wish to undertake greater duties.

Next, the Executive Board of the Province Committee familiarized itself with a report on the nature of the letters, grievances and suggestions directed to the PZPR Province Committee and local party echelons in 1982. There were more letters and applicants than in the preceding year. During that period more than 7,000 applicants were received, which is nearly 3,000 more than in the preceding year. This points to a marked growth of trust in the party echelons and organizations. The letters are considered just as attentively as the applicants are listened to. This is required by a special instruction from the Politburo of the Central Committee on the recording and resolution of complaints and grievances, but this also is required by party conscience.

The settlement of grievances and complaints is one side of the coin. The other, perhaps even more important, is elimination of the causes of individual problems. Thus, e.g. housing complaints can be best resolved by... building more housing. The complaints of farmers about delays in procurements and land sales could be eliminated by streamlining the work of the offices dealing with these matters. The complaints about the Social Security Administration [ZUS] will disappear once that administration is prompt in attending to all matters. But this also requires providing the proper conditions for the work of the ZUS.

Analysis of the complaints and grievances of the population has led to evaluating the performance of many offices and institutions last year, with penalties meted out to procrastinators. This, too, is a way of eliminating the sources of the problems and conflicts of people.. These directions of actions, too, were approved in the recommendations.

The Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee approved at yesterday's session the schedule for implementing the program of action adopted by the Province Reports-Programs Conference. It also discussed the schedule of political and propaganda measures to promote the introduction of the anti-inflation and conservation programs.

Stanislaw Siwak Interview on Party

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 14 Apr 83 p 3

[Interview with Stanislaw Woloszyn, member of the Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission and general director of the ZAPEL Plant in Boguchwal, by Stanislaw Siwak: "The Same Yet Not the Same...." under the rubric "Conversations About the Party"]

[Text] [Question] The Central Party Control Commission [CKKP] surely is basing its activities on the principle of implementing the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress, particularly as regards strengthening party unity and cohesion. What specific steps are being taken in that direction?

[Answer] Ever since its election by the 9th Congress the CKKP has been taking an active part in the measures to consolidate the party being taken by the Central Committee and the Politburo. It also is taking many measures on its own. Pursuant to its premises, it chiefly watches over adherence to statutory principles and a consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress. It must be said, however, that the activities of the highest echelons will not be enough to consolidate the party and strengthen its ranks. This must be attended to by the entire party, and this thesis is increasingly confirmed by practice. The party is a living organism. Unfortunately, in the past period some of the people joining it did so not always out of ideological-political motives or convictions. Hence, many of them have left the party, and many others have been expelled from the party, chiefly for activities inimical to its unity and power of political leadership in society.

[Question] What is the current situation within the party as regards the settlement of accounts with such individuals? Can it be said that this period is already over? For many months now the mass media no longer mention expulsions of some or other secretaries or directors from the party for behavior inconsonant with its statute.

[Answer] And, let me add, inconsonant with the ethical-moral principles obligating the party member. In principle, the process of the so-called settlement of accounts for such transgressions committed by comrades or former comrades was completed by the end of 1981. Besides, the CKKP Presidium took a stand on this question in its last year's declaration. The ending of that period enabled the party control commissions to focus their attention on counteracting ideological-political tendencies in attitudes and behavior of some party members that harmed the party. But it should also be clearly stated that it is also the duty of the commissions to acquit unjustly accused comrades. After all, many comrades had been accused and morally and physically oppressed. This was seemingly done for the sake of adherence to principles of legality and social justice, but in reality the proceedings themselves were implemented in an illegal and unjust manner. Many of these comrades had devoted their lives to honest work, and they deserve recognition and vindication.

[Question] Has the consideration of appeals to the 9th PZPR Congress also been completed?

[Answer] The 9th Congress appointed an Appeals Commission. Its task was to examine, investigate and clarify all cases submitted to the Congress. The appeals chiefly concerned restoration of party membership, voiding of party penalties and deletions and crediting of party seniority. Complaints and grievances from party and non-party members also were received. In cooperation with the CKKP and lower-level party control commissions, the Presidium of the Appeals Commission scrupulously investigated all appeals and issued appropriate verdicts. But as for the numerous complaints and grievances, the Appeals Commission transmitted them to the concerned ministries, institutions and party echelons, on the premise that every complaint addressed to the Congress should be thoroughly investigated. All appeals, requests for intervention and complaints addressed to the congress were examined.

[Question] To return to the activities of the CKKP, just what is your role as a member of its Presidium?

[Answer] The membership of the CKKP elected at the 9th Congress consisted more than 90 percent of comrades who had not earlier been members of the highest echelons of our party, including myself. At the commission's first session, while the 9th Congress was not yet over, a 13-member Presidium was elected by secret balloting. I was nominated from among CKKP members from southeastern Poland.

The Presidium drafts the framework plan for the functioning of the commission and directs the commission's activities during periods in between its plenary sessions. The various tasks of the CKKP Presidium include the examination of appeals against verdicts issued by CKKP teams and lower-level echelons, supervision of the activities of province party control commissions (WKKP) and appointment of teams for examining the verdicts issued by the local commissions. Also essential is the Presidium's role as an inspirer of the activities of the lower-level commissions.

I personally, in addition to participating in the Presidium's work, am under the obligation of maintaining direct contact and cooperating with the WKKPs in Krosno, Przemyśl, Rzeszów and Tarnobrzeg. In the course of working contacts I brief comrades from the province commissions about the directions of action being undertaken by the Presidium and current tasks. In addition, following sessions of the Central Commission or plenary deliberations of the Central Committee, in which I also take part, I transmit information to and exchange views with comrades from the plant party organization at ZAPEL and the gmina [parish] party organization in Boguchwał. For I am also their delegate, elected during the pre-Congress reports-elections campaign.

[Question] What is the day-by-day organization of the work of the Central Commission?

[Answer] It is divided into verdict teams whose task it is to establish the culpability and degree of responsibility of party members for deeds contrary to the program principles and statutory requirements of the PZPR. Last year alone, these teams held more than 100 sessions at which they examined 480 cases. Proceedings also are instituted to vindicate party members against unjustified accusations and defend their party dignity and civic dignity.

In addition to checking up on isolated reports about negative occurrences within the party, the CKKP monitors the activities of local party control commission. Last year, the validity of verdicts issued by the WKPPs was investigated in nine provinces, while the performance of plant party control commissions [KKP] in another nine provinces was also verified. The reactions of the province commissions to assessments by state inspection agencies also were investigated. The Central Commission keeps close track of the unfolding of events and phenomena within the party itself, particularly those which directly influenced and still influence the consolidation of party ranks and the evolution of public mood. The Presidium of the CKKP evaluates the whole of the verdict-issuing and preventive-control activities and reports to the leadership of our party on negative phenomena in party life. This concerns in particular simplified, subjective or even untruthful appraisals which not infrequently negate the whole of the accomplishments of the PZPR and the socialist state.

[Question] Do the CKKP verdict teams consider cases from Rzeszow Province? Does the CKKP at all cooperate with the WKPP in cases of this kind?

[Answer] The Central Commission does not receive too many cases from Rzeszow Province. In 1981 there had been four such cases and last year nine. This demonstrates that the party organizations, lower-level control commissions and the province party control commission itself react fairly rapidly to and correctly resolve cases and problems channeled to them or undertaken on their own. It is worth noting, however, that every appeal is considered after consulting the concerned basic party organization [POP] and in cooperation with the WKPP.

[Question] Undoubtedly the nature of the CKKP's activities as, among other things, a guardian of the purity of party ranks does not exclusively consist in meting out punishment. Its activities should also fulfill an important educational role....

[Answer] Naturally. Halfway during last year the Central Commission had held its fifth session at which it pointed out to the lower-level party control commissions that they should engage not only in verdict-issuing activities but also in preventive-control and educational activities. They must focus their attention on both planes simultaneously. For it is important that the control commissions should not confine themselves exclusively to eliminating the consequences of negative phenomena within the party: they also should, in cooperation with party echelons and organizations, eliminate the causes of these phenomena.

Admonitory interviews play a vital role in preventive work. Practice shows that such talks influence positively the attitudes and party and occupational discipline of party members. I personally believe that it is the absence of earlier reactions to even petty infractions committed by comrades that results in subsequent more severe penalties. Such practice causes twofold harm. On the one hand, it harms the individual party member and on the other it harms the party's good name.

Party Susceptibility to Social Matters

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 18 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Marek Jurkowicz: "Sensitive to Every Social Problem" under the rubric "The Party is the Same Yet Not the Same"]

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party has recently completed a five-month reports campaign and currently it is beginning to implement the resolutions adopted during that campaign. They make still more specific the line of accord and struggle, that is the July 1981 program of the 9th Party Congress. The party has maintained the Leninist course of the 9th PZPR Congress, defended it against attacks by the political enemy and proved that it knows how to consistently implement it. To anyone who wants and knows how to evaluate justly the party's performance, this is the most convincing proof of its credibility.

This is happening all the more because the new nature of party work is couched in a suitable political language--plain speaking about all problems of Poles, pointing to the complexity of the social processes taking place in Poland and refraining from pie-in-the-sky promises. The facts alone point to stabilization of the situation and steady attainment of the goals postulated by the party: in the second half of last year industrial output finally increased somewhat, exports have improved and the agricultural year looks promising. In addition, the chances for a gradual abolition of the rationing of certain foods and manufactured consumer goods in Poland are improving. This warranted planning an at least 10-percent increase in national income during the 1983-1985 period.

In the discussions of the future nature of the party the slogan that the party should be the same yet not the same was formulated. In these discussions the qualifier "yet not the same" was construed to mean both that the best people should belong to the party and that those best people must improve party work. In that work, its effectiveness is of fundamental importance. Even the wisest and most democratically adopted resolution remains just a piece of paper so long as it is not introduced into life and becomes reality. For example, the universally postulated commencement of more effective struggle against inflation should take place primarily in the sphere of production--because it is there that a barrier to further price increases should be erected. Thus, this is not just a task for government ministers: this is a political task to every party organization at every work establishment.

The reports campaign within the party also served to evaluate the effects of both the economic reform and all reform measures, including their social consequences. It has consolidated an explicit tendency in the practice of our Polish public life to elevate all kinds of control--particularly social control--to a much higher level and make it much more merit-based and, above all, to assure a much greater effectiveness of implementation of the established tasks. It has also perpetuated the tendency to revise earlier decisions and to perceive negative phenomena early enough before they grow into complex social problems.

The reports campaign took place at a time when the basic ideas of the reforms intended to promote the socialist renewal of the country had already reached the

grassroots communities. Thus, these ideas became a cause to not only directing centers and headquarters but also to broad circles of society. And not only these ideas but also ways of translating them into reality took shape in the form of specific legislation providing actual possibilities for the democratization of social life, modernization of state structures and the laying of a solid foundation under the reformed national economy. Thus the campaign served to assess an unusually important period in our country and party. It posed a crucial question to the party: What should be done in order to utilize the activism of party elements to strengthen the unity of party ranks and at the same time enhance the party's influence on society? Unless it asks itself such questions and finds the right answers to them, the party cannot fulfill its leading role in society and directing role in state. We know from our own experience that this role was not bestowed on it once and for all but must be constantly reaffirmed in the life and activities of the party.

The ability to think in social categories, indispensable to party work, must be accompanied by sensitivity to and perception of any social injustice and struggle against that injustice. Losing any case which hurts honest people is a defeat to the party—so was said during the campaign, because this affects the feeling of justice deeply rooted in the Polish society. In the presence of the crisis, that is, given the shortages of many staple goods, housing, etc. the issue of a just distribution of what is available becomes a major social problem and is an important yardstick of justice in general and hence also a program goal of the socialist revolution, its banner slogan.

In our complex Polish situation, society expects more effective action from the party. The party, in its turn, expects greater support from society. These expectations have matured into several specific actions, and important platforms for accord among Poles and renewal of the socialist fatherland have been built. This revealed the huge possibilities for further tapping society's energies, the unexploited material and intellectual potential, and unleashed social initiatives. This also has brought current problems of the party closer to broad circles of society.

Hence ensues the principal conclusion inferred from the reports campaign by Wojciech Jaruzelski: "Today it is time for all party organizations to rebuild in full their activism and go over to a political offensive. The party must emphasize more strongly its revolutionary nature, its 'second youth.'"

This conclusion ensues not only from an appraisal of tremendous needs but also and above all from an appraisal of the possibilities for party action. These possibilities are greater than they had been several months ago: they afford a chance which must not be forfeited.

1386

CSO: 2600/809

CHIEF EDITOR OF PARTY WEEKLY ASSESSES PZPR PLENUM

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 24, 11 Jun 83 p 5

[Article by Jan Bijak, editor-in-chief of POLITYKA: "After the Plenum--Down the Middle Road"]

[Text] Seldom has a plenum of the party's Central Committee caused such a storm of speculation in the West's propaganda centers, to say nothing of the many rumors and personal conjectures. Two weeks ago "Komentator" wrote in these columns (POLITYKA No 22) that in the reports of the western correspondents the situation in the party is presented as if it were a big thrashing match in which the hardliners and reformers are battling one another fiercely. Now that the plenum is behind us, the authors of those speculative stories explain without embarrassment that the predictions did not come to pass because of the pope's visit or because of the expected reactions of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] Central Committee Plenum or because of this or that, and in general that all of these gigantic and fierce battles have been postponed to the future. From this it can be concluded that nothing happened. In short, the Central Committee performed a routine duty. But of course it was an important plenum, even if its full impact will not be felt till after the next plenum, the 13th, to be held in the fall which is supposed to be something of an extension of the present one but with a more extensive program and time perspective.

I can begin on the basis of a paradox, from that which was only a repetition at that meeting of persons. But a repetition that has its significance. In the Politburo report, in Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech and in the other pronouncements, the party leadership confirmed spectacularly its faith in the program policy of the Ninth Congress. This congress which "defended the marxist-leninist character of the party, delineated the policy for socialist revival, based on the interdependence of the element of struggle and understanding." That was barely 2 years ago in a remembered climate in which the deliberations were conducted in an atmosphere of preparations that was heated, full of emotion and continuous confrontations with the stormy moods of the people. At that time the party took full advantage of the democratic possibilities created by the statute; delegates were selected amid a political struggle, a squabble of viewpoints; neither "portfolios" nor any other tested

methods for personal promotion functioned. The delegates drafted a program with full knowledge of the errors committed by the party, in confrontation with the opinion of their communities, amid the squabbles with the ideological and political opponents. They selected the party's executive organs on the basis of their knowledge of these people and in the belief that these people will not repeat the old errors and will be able to lead the country out of the crisis. They selected more workers than ever before for the Central Committee.

The policy of understanding and struggle was the most general formula. Then, as events unfolded, as the confrontation intensified and the political blindness of the opposition initiated a fatal course at the close, the program formula of the Ninth Congress was enveloped by new slogans, and the formula became concrete. In the pronouncements of the last plenum, one was aware of these motto-slogans that are mentioned here--I believe--knowing that the party's political policy is not changing.

We will defend socialism just as we defend Poland's independence. We are taking a path on which not one step backward will be taken either with regard to the disease of pre-August 1980 or the anarchy of anarchy of pre-December 1981.

Our hand is outstretched to all, repeating once more: it is unimportant where one is coming from, but where one wants to go is important.

We formulated the slogan: so that the party would be the party, but not exactly as it was.

The philosophy of understanding was formulated at the plenum by General Jaruzelski as: "The concern is not that everyone should speak with one voice, but that the goal be a common one, and that each voice be characterized by civic responsibility and sincere concern about the good of the country....Each constructive idea and sensitive conscience, each pair of hands withdrawn from useful work, from active work is a loss, a loss for Poland. Each person reclaimed and won over for Poland is a gain. Such reasoning is the basis of our concept of national consolidation. At the same time it has clearly defined foundations and untraversable limits. The foundations are: acceptance of the political system, including the principle of collective ownership, the primacy of the workers' interests and the leading role of the party; and approbation of the alliances and other permanent achievements of Poland's defense and foreign policies. The limits are: the dividing line between patriotically motivated criticism and sterile negativism; unrestrained instigations, anarchy and hostility; the use of civil rights as opposed to their abuse in destructive goals."

Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech contained a certain reflection that could be read as a commentary on the above words: at the beginning of the 1960s, Maria Dabrowska spoke out about the threats to the natural environment, but at that time some circles treated her pronouncements as characteristically oppositional and antagonistic to the socialist industrialization of the country. Almost 5 years later those same critics of Dabrowska began to clamor about the threats to the environment. At one time Tadeusz Kotarbinski warned people about the publishing crisis, but his pronouncement was also received unfavorably as an

indication of his type of opposition. With the passage of the years, however, the crisis of the publishing movement became obvious. This is an interesting commentary because it warns against simplifications, it teaches respect for people with personal authority, even if their opinions at a given moment differ --let us say--from the official opinion or if such an opinion is ahead of its time.

I perceive this very spirit of party self-criticism--all the more valuable because it already applies to the most recent time--in that part of the first secretary's speech where he speaks of some of the errors of the authorities. "... No one has a patent on infallibility. The Politburo does not have it, and even more so the first secretary of the Central Committee does not have it." This is not a trite formula because it was followed by a discussion of some of the dubious decisions of the past 2 years, for example, the matter of early retirements or the excessive pay increases in the fourth quarter of 1982 or the draft of the law concerning higher education which did not fulfill its intended role of bringing the educational community closer to the authorities.

The struggle concerns the ideological and political enemy. Those from the underground, those who lead people in antistate manifestations, and those abroad who are the centers of reactionary, cold-war, anti-Polish activities.

"The introduction of martial law was a radical turn in the situation. We averted the tragedy and shame of a civil conflict through our decision and our own forces." And further: "When we ourselves decided to defend socialism we deprived them (the opposition--ed.) of the argument of alleged lack of independence, the nonsovereignty of our actions. It is actually our opposition that carries out foreign recommendations; it is they who collaborate with forces who would like to make Poland a tool in the global contest with socialism."

Today the system of forces is radically changed; the activities of the political enemy in the country are irksome and pose various threats, but their significance is diminishing. These actions must be unmasked, combated with words, but above all the facts must be produced that could be placed before the public as arguments in favor of the authorities.

There are more and more such facts. Production is slowly increasing; there is visible progress in economic reform, and the so-called average consumer can buy serial products without a ration card and with the hope that the forecasts of a true market will someday materialize. I do not wish to repeat the current comments about the difficulties and that life is not easy for us because we all know this. And no sensible person expects quick results. Nonetheless, progress in various spheres of everyday life is visible, and it has been rightly said that the party is not approaching the plenum with empty hands.

But for there to be many more such good facts that favor the authorities and the party's policy, the struggle must be not only against the political enemy and against all forms of social evil, but above all the struggle must have a positive sense--a struggle for creative and active attitudes, for better work and for healthier relations among people.

The renewal of the party, the increasing improvement in its operations and composition of its members is an especially important part of the struggle. If the party, by virtue of the constitutional provision, is the leading force in the country, then it must be unquestionably and fully qualified. Thus, it must have strong support among labor and the mass of working people, and thus the ability to formulate a program that will be accepted by society as their own, and thus a picture of each party member that will raise the authority of the whole party. We have a long way to go to achieve this, despite the fact that much has been accomplished. Also in this sphere, progress will be made in the long run as a result of more extensive social processes.

But there are specific party, political and ideological conditions without which there can be no talk of progress and of a Lenin-type party.

I am thinking about that range of matters that are called in short problems of party unity. Stanislaw Weglinski of the Murcek mines expresses it picturesquely: "In my opinion the march should take place down the center of the road, and not down the left or right shoulders, nor should we race down that road." Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed it in political terms: "... not only doctrine but also life tells us to conduct the struggle on two fronts. An ominous danger is--firstly--that with which one does not struggle and--secondly--that which one comes up against objectively in the demagogic slogans of the opposition. But the most ominous danger is that which is generated by factional activities. This we will not tolerate in any form."

The international significance of Polish affairs was emphasized many times at the plenum. The U.S. economic sanctions or the overall, tense situation in the area of armaments, especially nuclear armaments, are phenomena that are unfavorable for Poland's stabilization. But the aid of the socialist countries, especially the extensive aid of the Soviet Union, and the development of peace movements in the world are phenomena that favor Polish stability. All of this influences the development of our economic and political situation. In addition there are some trends here that are encouraging.

We are not alone, either in a good or bad situation. In the final analysis, however, it will depend on us above all on how we resolve the difficult, Polish problems.

11899

CSO: 2600/970

OFFICIAL BLASTS UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RESOLUTIONS

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 24, 11 Jun 83 pp 12, 13

[Article by Adam Lopatka: "False Accusations"]

[Text] The UN Human Rights Commission, composed of representatives of 43 countries, passed a resolution on 10 Mar 1982 in which it assessed the observance of human rights and basic freedoms in Poland. On 8 Mar 1983 this same Commission passed another resolution bearing the same title and very similar in text. In the structure of the United Nations, the Human Rights Commission is one of the technical commissions of the Economic and Social Council. It holds its 6-weeks' session once a year in Geneva, in February-March.

In its 8 Mar resolution the Commission expressed its concern about reports which it was receiving on widely occurring violations of human rights and basic freedoms in Poland, on the imposition of harsh punishments under martial law, on the large numbers of people charged with failure to observe this law, and on the dissolution of the trade union movement, which was based on democracy and was supported by the majority of Polish workers.

The Commission called upon the Polish authorities to immediately and fully implement the declaration made by them of their intention to remove restrictions on the exercise of human rights and basic freedoms. It called attention to the harsh jail sentences meted out after imposition of martial law, demanded the lifting of restrictions on free flow of information, and the revocation of new restrictions imposed on the Polish people. Just as in the 10 Mar 82 resolution, it requested the UN secretary general, or a person designated by him, to update and supplement the comprehensive report on observance of human rights in Poland, based on information which he deems to be correct, together with the opinions and materials which the Polish government may wish to furnish. It also asked that the report be submitted at its 40th session, which will be held in February-March 1984. It also reiterated its demand that the Polish government cooperate with the UN secretary general or the person he designates. It resolves that it will continue to investigate the matter of human rights and basic freedoms in Poland at its 40th session.

In 1982 the authors of the draft resolution pertaining to Poland were: Denmark, the FRG, Italy, and The Netherlands. In 1983 the authors again were the NATO European countries, except that instead of Denmark, which was no longer a member of the

Commission, Ireland appeared. But the real authorship of the drafts of both resolutions should be ascribed to the United States. The US representative was also the main spokesman in passing these resolutions.

In 1982, 19 countries voted for the draft resolution, 13 were against, and 10 abstained, while the PRC delegation announced that it will not take part in the voting. A year later it was the same. Nineteen countries were for the draft, 14 were against (including also the PRC), and 10 abstained. Thus less than half the Commission members voted in favor of the draft. Among them were all of the NATO country members of the Commission, other highly developed capitalist countries such as Australia and Japan, and several third-world countries which could not resist the pressure of the United States. Voting against were all the socialist country members of the Commission and, among others, such important third-world countries as India, Libya and Ghana.

Both in 1982 and 1983 the Polish delegation declared most emphatically that it considers the resolutions to be illegal, politically pernicious and morally duplicitous, and thus nonexistent. It stated also that Poland will not cooperate in any way with the Commission or the UN secretary general in implementing the resolution. In all remaining matters, the Polish People's Republic delegation declared, Poland will, as always, conscientiously cooperate with the United Nations and its secretary general. In conformance with this declaration Poland did not in any way take part in the implementation of the 1982 resolution. It intends to conduct itself in the same way in regard to the 8 Mar 1983 resolution.

In 1982 not a single complaint of violation of human rights and basic freedoms in Poland was presented in the Commission. Nor were there any such complaints this year. In 1982 the Commission passing the resolution did so without submitting any kind of proof. In 1983 it had a report on the situation in Poland presented by the UN deputy secretary general, Hugo Gobbi, dated 21 Feb 1983. The representative of the Polish People's Republic called this document a libel. He stated that some parts of it are an insult to Poland and rejected the report, declaring that our country regards it as invalid and illegal. In 1982 some members of the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities made an attempt to present evidence supporting the thesis that human rights in Poland were being violated. It is the only body in the United Nations appointed to examine complaints and present its conclusions to the Human Rights Commission. The motion on this matter received only three votes in the Subcommittee and was defeated. Thus, aside from Hugo Gobbi's report mentioned earlier, in 1983 also, the Commission had no complaints or proof that would indicate that human rights and basic freedoms in Poland were being violated.

Both Resolutions are Illegal

because neither the Human Rights Commission, nor any other UN body, or other international organization, is competent to investigate matters relating to human rights in Poland. The only body which could concern itself with this is the Human Rights Committee functioning on the basis of the Civil and Political Rights Pact. But it reveals no activity in this area. The investigation of this matter is not within the framework of the mandate, the powers vested in the Commission. Nor does it have a mandate to make any kind of decision in this matter.

The United Nations is an international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all of its members. Art 2, par 7 of the UN Charter states that nothing in the Charter empowers the United Nations to take up matters which are mainly within the competence of any state, nor does it demand of its members that they submit such matters to control on the basis of the UN Charter. This principle does not apply only to the use of compulsory measures, which are discussed in chapter 7 of the Charter.

Problems of human rights and basic freedoms are within the competence of the individual states. The United Nations has competence in this area only as provided in the UN Charter itself and in other international agreements, particularly conventions pertaining to human rights and also in universally recognized resolutions of appropriate UN organs. None of these international regulations authorizes the Commission to concern itself with observance of human rights in Poland.

The UN Economic and Social Council resolution dated 30 Jul 1959 confirms that the Human Rights Commission has no authority to take any kind of action in regard to complaints concerning human rights. This resolution also permits complaints coming into the UN Secretariat which pertain to human rights to be forwarded to the members of the Commission.

The UN Economic and Social Council resolution dated 6 Jul 1967 approved the decision of the Human Rights Commission to make an annual investigation of violations of human rights and basic freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination, segregation and apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and subjugated countries and territories. This resolution also empowered the Commission --in all actual cases and after seriously considering available information--to thoroughly examine those situations which reveal a consistent violation of human rights, as for example, apartheid.

The UN Economic and Social Council resolution dated 27 May 1970 empowered the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to investigate cases of human rights violations. The Subcommission is obliged to submit its position for the approval of the Commission. It provides also that the Commission should form an ad hoc committee which will examine the Subcommission's motions at closed meetings and submit proposals to the Commission.

And, finally, a resolution of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, dated 13 Aug 1971, regulates the standards and criteria with which reports on violations of human rights, which may be accepted and investigated by the Subcommission, should conform.

As is apparent, none of the above-mentioned resolutions gives the Human Rights Commission a mandate to concern itself with situations such as exist in Poland. Therefore, these matters remain only within the competence of the Polish authorities.

The Commission could have taken up the matter of human rights in Poland had there been a consistent system of mass violations of human rights in our country and had the Subcommission of Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities submitted the proper proposal. However, in Poland there has not been and there is no

consistent system of mass violations of human rights. And the authors of the 10 Mar 1982 and 8 Mar 1983 resolutions acknowledge this. They do not charge Poland with this kind of violation of human rights. In 1981 there was not even an attempt to submit a proper motion by the Subcommittee and the attempt made in the summer of 1982 with the intention of presenting such a motion at the Commission's meeting in 1983 was not successful.

But perhaps the concern and worry of the authors of both resolutions because of mass--as they say--violations of human rights in Poland is justified. Did something like that really occur in 1982 and is it occurring now in Poland? Did martial law or the suspended martial law cause a universal violation of human rights?

The imposition of martial law occurred in accordance with the provisions of the Polish People's Republic Constitution and with article 4 of the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, to which Poland has been a party since 3 Mar 1977. In view of the extreme public danger which threatened the existence of the nation, the constitutional authorities of the Polish People's Republic temporarily suspended the conformance with commitments resulting from certain provisions of this pact. The Polish People's Republic authorities also informed the UN secretary general, at the proper time and in the appropriate form; which provisions of the pact were suspended and for what reasons. On 22 Dec 1982 the Polish People's Republic authorities informed the secretary general about the cessation of suspension of some previously suspended provisions of the pact, and about the suspensions which will be temporarily retained.

Even Hugo Gobbi in his report admits that the imposition and implementation of martial law was and is in accordance with Poland's constitution and international law. He says (on page 15): "On the whole

/the government based its new legislation on international norms/ [in boldface]

which it recognizes and on its own constitution." In this situation neither the United Nations nor any UN organ has the right to reproach Poland. Accusations cannot be made against a state for observing its own constitution and the norms of international law.

It is not the authorities that violate the rights of an individual in punishing him for actions which would be legal, had the legal norms giving him the right to perform these actions not been legally suspended. Human rights can be exercised only within the range in which legislation and international laws permit at a given moment. It cannot be said, therefore, that enforcement of the provisions of decrees and laws imposing martial law, or provisions in effect during suspension of martial law, constitutes a violation of human rights or basic freedoms by state authorities.

That is the case in relation to human rights, as stated in the Pact on Civil and Political Rights. But there is still one more matter that requires explanation. Article 4 of the Pact states that particular rights can be suspended if this does not conflict with other commitments ensuing from international law. In the Human Rights Commission it was said that the decisions of the Polish authorities concerning trade unions were in conflict with Convention 87 of the International Labor Organization.

The fact of the matter is that former "Solidarity" by its actions violated several important provisions of the above-mentioned Convention. That organization often did not conform, as Convention 87 requires, to its own statute. Frequently, also, it did not conform to laws in effect in Poland. The ILO Committee on Union Freedoms in one of its pronouncements in 1976 stated: */"Measures taken in a state of emergency/ (the same as martial law in Poland--author's note) /may constitute serious interference of authorities in union affairs, in contravention with Art 3 of Convention 87, unless such measures turn out to be urgent, if the organizations mentioned departed from their union goals and ignored the law/"* [in italics]. It cannot be said, therefore, that in suspending, or legislatively dissolving "Solidarity", the state authorities of the Polish People's Republic */"seriously interfered in union matters"/* [in italics], in contravention with Art 3 of Convention 87 of the ILO. In 1981 "Solidarity" was no longer a trade union organization. It was, as its leaders and activists described it, "a social movement", and in any case it was not a union organization in a large part of its actions.

If an accusation of such interference had to be made, it could possibly have been made in relation to the subsector trade unions, the autonomous ones, that is, those which were, in 1981 in Poland, outside the union headquarters. But no one made such an accusation, nor is it being made either in the United Nations or the ILO. And so in this area also, the actions of the authorities of the Polish People's Republic are legal both in the light of domestic law as well as international law. This confirms the illegality of the 10 Mar 1982 and 8 Mar 1983 resolutions.

Several delegates in the Human Rights Commission called attention to the political perniciousness of the 8 Mar 1983 resolution. The representative from Finland, for example, in justifying why his country cannot support the resolution, emphasized that the so-called "Polish matter" in the Commission is a part of the confrontation between the East and the West, and therefore is a political process which has nothing to do with human rights. The entire matter would never have been brought up in the Human Rights Commission were it not for the baseless and impermissible, from the standpoint of the UN Charter, anti-Poland political pressure exerted by several NATO countries. They are interested in changing the constitutional social-political system of the Polish People's Republic, which does not suit their purposes, and not in human rights in Poland. The position which the delegates of these countries took, instead of improving the international climate, worsened it greatly and undermined political confidence in the Commission, an organ of the United Nations. The basis of the functioning of this Commission should be, first and foremost, humanitarian, and universally accepted and established criteria as to the cases in which the Commission can investigate the observance of human rights in a given country. It can do so if:

First: a given situation constitutes a properly documented */"serious, mass and glaring violation of human rights and basic freedoms"/* [in italics], ascertained by one of the main organs of the United Nations;

Second: the violation of these rights and freedoms is */"a continuous system"/* [in italics];

Third: the given situation */"endangers international peace and security"/* [in italics];

Fourth: that the discussion of the given situation in the Human Rights Commission is /"not damaging to the functioning and powers of the already-existing organs, or organs which will be appointed on the strength of executive decisions of international pacts and conventions pertaining to observance of human rights and basic freedoms"/ [in italics].

None of the above criteria have been or are applicable in relation to Poland.

The political perniciousness of both resolutions strenthened the dangerous precedent of having the United States impose upon the Commission a decision which is in conflict with the UN Charter and with the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights. The United States is not a party to this Pact.

Hypocrisy

in international relations is nothing new. In this case, however, it appeared with exceptional intensity. On the one hand the governments which inspired the resolution gave the impression that they were disappointed that Poland suspended martial law for the time being instead of lifting it entirely, and on the other hand, these same governments are doing everything they can to intensify Polish difficulties and counteract the domestic stability that Poland needs so badly.

These governments accuse Poland of offenses that they unreservedly tolerate and even support in other parts of the world. Some NATO countries have for years repeated the argument that United Nations resolutions dealing with mass and glaring violations of human rights by Israel in Arab-occupied territories and the crime of apartheid in South Africa "are beside the point". However, it seems that resolutions interfering in Poland's internal matters are not beside the point. Similarly, there is no rationally justified answer as to why the inspirers of the anti-Polish resolutions in the Human Rights Commission voted against resolutions dealing with mass and glaring violations of human rights in Chile or El Salvador.

Equally duplicitous were the words of warm encouragement spoken by the representative from Great Britain in behalf of extending the UN secretary general's mandate regarding Poland, several days after the government and a large part of the British press deemed that the European Parliament's decision to send a commission from this parliament to examine the situation in North Ireland constituted interference in the internal affairs of Great Britain. Similarly, the delegate from Ireland who zealously participated in drafting the resolution on the Polish matter, during the entire 6 weeks that the Commission met said not one word about the fate of hundreds of his imprisoned compatriots or about the other grave violations of human rights in the northern part of his island.

The aforementioned UN Human Rights Commission resolutions on violations of human rights and basic freedoms in Poland are not an expression of concern for human rights, but are still one more element in a campaign of hostility towards Poland, organized by the United States and its allies. They are part of a series of anti-Polish acts, along with the so-called economic sanctions, political boycott and various attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of our country. That is why Poland does not recognize these resolutions and does not participate in their implementation. At the same time, it remains a conscientious member of the United Nations and cooperates in the implementation of all other decisions, decisions conforming to the UN Charter.

HISTORIAN CITES EVIDENCE OF CONTINUITY OF ROMANIAN PRESENCE

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 4 Mar 83 pp 9, 15

[Interview with Professor Dinu C. Giurescu by Cici Iordache-Adam, date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Professor Dinu C. Giurescu, we are with you today to discuss history. As a medievalist, a researcher at the Romanian medieval historiography school, do you feel that we now well understand that "golden era"?

[Answer] First of all, historians have to come to an understanding on what we mean by the Middle Ages. The concept has various interpretations both here and abroad. There is, I would not say a consensus, but a large body of opinion that places the end of the Middle Ages between 1490 and 1500, in the decade when the great geographical discoveries began, when Europeans crossed their borders and headed out for other continents and when a number of factors came together that would gradually lead to the modern era. Thus the Middle Ages would continue until 1490 to 1500, while the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries form a different era which, after 1750, brings us to the modern period. Of course, some call this traditional nobiliary Europe where fundamental social and economic relations underwent a number of transformations compared with the Middle Ages but without the appearance of fundamentally new classes and social categories, and of different relationships between them, all as the result of radical transformations in science and technology. In this context, the Romanian Middle Ages are considered to last either until the beginning of the 16th century, or in the view of others, until the middle of the 18th century, or according to still others until the first decades of the 19th century--although this last view has few adherents today.

[Question] What is your view?

[Answer] Personally, I opt for the first division. I consider the Romanian Middle Ages to have ended toward the close of Stephen the Great's reign [1457-1504]. Obviously, however, the debate will continue for a long time and regardless of the chronology adopted, there are a number of areas which await research.

[Question] Should we switch topics without first listing your arguments supporting this viewpoint?

Answer The arguments are based on Romanians' history being a part of European history, as it was in fact in this period. Certain transformations or, better said, evolutions occurred in parts of Europe which we experienced as well, of course with local variations. For example, the "revolution of prices" so characteristic of the 16th century, accompanied by the devaluation of currencies. As a result, we had the conflicts between the nobility and central authorities, certain new mentalities in the political class... My idea is that, for example, Petru Rares as well as Mihai Viteazul are first rank personalities, but characteristic of 16th century Europe and not of medieval gallantry. Men who were active in the arts, diplomacy and in the military arts of the period, those who performed their tasks in a very personal way, owe this above all to their own qualities. They exemplify a concept that is very characteristic of the Renaissance and of European humanism. The legitimacy which was conferred by belonging to the dominant, dynastic families still was operative of course, but it was no longer a simple convention--the sole determinant was the personality of the leader. (I mention the most well-known examples, Neagoe Basarab, Radu from Afumati, Petru Rares, Alexandru Lapusneanu, Ion Voda and Mihai Viteaza.) I won't go into details whether the lineage is through the dominant families, the individual's worth is the decisive element and all of these leaders fully illustrate the Renaissance concept of the man who controls his own destiny. Of course, one can offer counterarguments but I believe that gradual developments came about in material life, in production and distribution of goods and in social relationships which we can relate to similar European occurrences and which elsewhere are no longer considered to be medieval.

Question We understand that this is much yet to be researched, that the era is not altogether well understood.

Answer Yes, there is a long way to go in understanding the period, especially if we extend it into the 18th century. The lack of documents is an obstacle as is the fact that not all of what does exist has been published. Practically speaking, we have virtually nothing published since Matei Basarab; the papers are still in the archives. There are new areas that should be investigated, such as demographic studies. In the last decade there have been some beginnings, and some with good results, but we have not fully addressed certain major aspects such as the numerical changes of villages and cities in our country from the 14th century until after 1821. Only from the 18th century do we begin to have more or less detailed statistics. Prior to this, however, research can be done by mapping, in other words, by placing on a map all the settlements referenced in writings and in archeology, by establishing their age, continuity and so on. Then, another direction is to study the technical aspects of the tools of production, or as we say now, the technologies employed. Of course, there have been partial studies, but not complete enough to determine, for example, the precise composition of the mortars used, the strengthening solutions for foundation archings, procedures for producing construction materials, dyes, especially for frescoes, etc. I repeat, there have been notable accomplishments in recent years, but to reconstruct this technical and technological totality and to align it with its equivalent in other countries still remains a task for the future.

Then there are other very large areas to be researched such as the nature of everyday life (recently there was a work on everyday life for the Szecklers but it did not include the Romanians), explorations of ideas and mentalities--these are themes which await their researchers. Obviously it should not be thought that nothing has been done, but the results are still modest in comparison with political, diplomatic and social history studies which, however, cannot give a more intimate understanding of the era. What we need are researchers with greater insight based on the highest form of professionalism possible. Who strictly apply the scientific rules of industry so that the reconstruction of the past can be so much more nuanced and show--that which we can nonetheless sense intuitively--just how great the complexity of an era is and how inadequate, for lack of another term, its presentation.

History has always had a political charge and very often it has been called upon to "justify" a certain development, reality or trend. There have been theories (long ago disproved even in international historiography by authoritative works and men of science) concerning the Romanian people's formation south of the Danube and their gradual filtration northward, or about the ethnic mix in the area between the Danube and the Carpathians. There are theories negating or ignoring the continuity of the Romanian states, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries and even in the 19th century until 1859, these states being considered components of the Ottoman Empire.

Question Which is to ignore all sources and documents--both foreign and Romanian--of the era, well-known sources and documents.

Answer An example of this is the special relationships established by the Romanian states with the Ottoman empire beginning with the reign of Mircea the Old [1386-1418] and continuing through 1490 (the peace between Stephen the Great and the Ottoman ruler.) In this first 100 years, such relationships were gradually established and led to the recognition of the Romanian states' individuality--Muntenia and Moldavia--as political and territorial realities of an economic and social life, of a culture distinct from those existing in lands conquered by the Ottomans.

Question What is the position of Romanian historians regarding such theories?

Answer I mention the well-researched studies published in the past two decades--starting with the political events and continuing on to the analysis of Romanian-Ottoman relations on the juridical level in international law. Unfortunately, the results of Romanian research are not published in languages known worldwide. Scientific life has certain rules of its own, and the circulation of ideas and works requires time, perseverance and numerous, repeated, continuous contacts between institutions and especially between people, between scholars. The dissemination of a nation's historiographical results cannot be accomplished by an occasional campaign or effort; it has to be carried on every year like a total production flow. As an aside, I would like to say that our history is of particular interest to European specialists and scholars. To illustrate, in April 1982 I was in London with Cristian Popisteanu at a symposium for the Titulescu Centennial. One day we were

invited to London Polytechnic to give a lecture that was followed by questions. At one point someone asked me: "You Romanians, did you invent a magical formula to survive throughout the course of history?" "We did not," I told him, "but a small nation always has the obligation to find a way in every historical era to move forward and to survive. The Romanian people have done this throughout their history, they sought and found a way—and sometimes the room to maneuver was very small—to continue, paying attention to the existing balance of forces. And very often, using our heads, our wisdom and our reasoning power more often than our swords, we found a way to survive as Romanians."

Question Then, let us continue the dialogue about the incontestable evidence of our permanent presence on Romanian soil, about the sources, the written documents and archeological information, (of course, about medieval archeology) monuments, about all that can be clearly stated about the history of the Romanians in the European context.

Answer I have said that publishing the documents means the beginning as archeological research means the source of any knowledge of history. Without these we are like a spider who hangs everything from one thread. We have noteworthy results, but at the rate we are going, by the year 2000, not even the internal documents of Brincoveanu will have been published. Of course, publishing requires money and everyone knows the world in general is experiencing hard times, but we could find a technique to reproduce a few copies at a reduced cost. Regardless of how we view it, by not publishing documents we are but marking time. And just as important is the archeological sector from which we get the primary documentation for the 3rd and 4th centuries through the 13th century. Archeology is indispensable for us in this millennium. Yet, in recent years we have witnessed a reduction in the number of diggings in the feudal period, the very period where we are more strongly and directly contested in the Carpathian-Danube region. Naturally history is learned from books, but the first contact, the primary understanding takes place in the building, in the unique monuments which attest to an entire era or personality, and, no less—indeed even more—by learning the characteristic urban and rural architecture which is unique for every people. Of course, in recent decades, through industrialization, the urban population has grown significantly, between 1948 and 1981 by over 7 million and today represents about 48 percent of the total population. Consequently, we had to construct housing and all the necessary related services for those 7 million new city residents. We were confronted with a fundamental problem when undertaking such an operation. "How shall we build this? What do we retain from the traditional Romanian city and village?" It is not difficult to see how we responded. Today we are obliged to speak in the past tense about the traditional city architecture in a number of our country's cities, cities whose existence had been recorded for over 500 years. So now we refer to Suceavean architecture in the past, this, the former capital of Moldavia. The same thing is true for the urban construction in Bacau, Vaslui, Roman, Focsani, Buzau, Tirgoviste—former capital of Walachia—Pitesti, Rimnicu Vilcea and Craiova, to name only the most obvious examples. Nor were the unique buildings the only things of interest; in all of those cities there were streets and entire areas with interesting architecture built in the last

decades of the 19th and in the beginning of our century, as well as a number of much older buildings. This was demonstrated in the recent monographs about Botosani and Pitesti published by the National Museum of History. The unique structures, especially of the 17th and 18th centuries, are undergoing a natural decaying process or are being used inappropriately. We are investing much money in motels--no doubt usefully--but we are converting numerous inns and mansions into stores or just allowing them to fall apart. These are accommodations which date from the 17th century or later and which could very well serve tourists and foreign guests to whom we could offer characteristic Romanian ambiance along with all the modern conveniences. I am thinking too of the wooden structures--those that have remained--which represent a unique synthesis of European wooden architecture. They are completely different from Ukrainian, Carelian, Swedish, Polish and other architectures; not more beautiful but every bit as so; in balance they have their own style, different proportions and other characteristics. And, something else comes to mind, the peasant dwelling. A recent study of the major Jiu--as well as earlier works--also published by the RSR Museum of History, describes numerous two-story homes which are remarkable for their elegance, their volume and area which can stand alongside any dwellings from other European areas. This is a model that would be good to imitate in the partial reconstruction of our villages. Going back to the unique monuments, in order to maintain and preserve their significance, it is necessary to restore them every so often and then to maintain and preserve a proper architectural ambiance. Razed before our eyes were historical landmarks which obviously should have been saved. For example, there was the Yellow Inn at the intersection of 1 May Boulevard and Banu Manta, a building representative of the Romanian city and whose more than 150 years of existence disappeared because of who knows which planner. On Calea Mosilor there used to be a number of interesting buildings, and some areas had even been designated by the old Directorate of Monuments--I personally participated in the designations--to be maintained and integrated with the new buildings. To demolish a building of the urban archeological heritage is to erase entire pages of history from the minds and hearts of people. At the rate at which old buildings are being torn down, the youth who will be between 20 and 30 years of age in the year 2000 will live in cities where they will see virtually nothing of past Romanian civilization and creation.

Question This is all the more surprising since there are firm guidelines from the party leadership and the head of state for increased protection for our valuable old buildings! However, please allow us to ask a question, our last question and probably one we should have begun with. Historian Dinu C. Giurescu, what are you working on now?

Answer After the illustrated history published by the Sport-Tourism Publishing House, I gathered material on 15th through 18th century ideas and mentalities. And on a more specific topic, there is a monograph about Alexandru Lapusneanu.

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INFLUENCE OF 'NEW RIGHT' THINKING ASSESSED

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[Article by Stevan Niksic: "The Right Under the Magnifying Glass"]

[Text] An observation of Dr Vladimir Bakaric uttered in a polemical discussion from 20 years ago was retold for a long time as an aphorism: "We have proclaimed that we are to have a struggle of opinions, but there is more struggle than opinions"; that was his synthesized picture of the intellectual situation at that time.

Today the same utterance would hardly make anyone laugh anymore, since it does not possess the elementary condition for wit to have a punch: it does not correspond to the real situation. There continues, of course, to be a struggle, but there are more and more opinions. Indeed such opinions that we can no longer speak exclusively of the conflict of particular ideas, but can now speak in the true sense of the word of a conflict of ideologies. The League of Communists is often the target of that lively performance and everything--the system of value and achievements of the revolutionary struggle--which its name stands for and is associated with.

Last week there was discussion at two meetings of party forums, in the Presidium of the Belgrade City Committee of the LC and the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, of the ideological situation in society, more precisely in Belgrade and Serbia; it is indicative that in these two discussions particular attention was paid to a topic which has not really been exploited very often recently--the New Right. Along with numerous assessments worthy of attention, current political jargon has been enriched on this occasion with a new set of terms which in future, by all appearances, we will be encountering more often: there was talk of an "ideological counterinitiative" of various forces, especially the Old and New Left, of a "rightwing assault," of "rightwing regression."...

When we bear in mind that similar topics have been discussed at certain other party meetings held in recent weeks in various parts of the country, it is not difficult to round out the picture, which shows that more and more attention is being drawn to our Right, whose neglect has perhaps been a little unjustified.

The struggle for the socialist program in Yugoslavia has not always come down, nor could it be reduced--even if someone had really wanted it--to a peaceful and uniform activity on the part of the leading forces of a socialist society; it is a question of an organic social process which from the very outset has taken place through its own internal contradictions.

It is understandable that in this process an appropriate role has also gone to those social forces which have opposed the main flow: the Left or the Right of the action conducted by the League of Communists. Kardelj (nor was he alone) had a habit of saying that the success of an action by the League of Communists depended on whether in each particular situation there was a real examination of what the actual lineup and balance of power was in society and where the members of the party were located in that lineup. In practice, however, opponents of the policy of the League of Communists have frequently enjoyed the treatment of an "undifferentiated mass," "leftist," "ultraleftist," "rightwing" dogmatists, liberals, technocrats or nationalists.... They have all been frequently classified in the same basket as simply "enemies." Accordingly, the fact that slightly more attention is being paid at this point to the right does not mean that others do not exist as well. In a specific situation it will rather be that this is only the result of an examination of the real lineup of forces and balance of power.

Here for a beginning is a graphic illustration:

Toward the end of last year a book out of the ordinary on "planetary sociology" was published by "Zapis" in Belgrade ("Drustvo na planeti Zemlji" [Society on Planet Earth] by Ratko D. Milisavljevic, Belgrade, 1982), which its reviewer, a well-known member of the academy, recommends as "a new and original work not only in our own, but indeed in world science." It is, of course, the business of professional and scientific criticism to competently evaluate or assess that work competently, though, to be sure, this has not been done as yet. But on this occasion the matter might serve as an illustration of the particular intellectual climate which is spreading ever more obviously in our country and of which the appearance of such books is very characteristic.

The author, that is, engages in polemics with Marx, makes charges (sweeping) against all the "communist states," categorically rejects self-management.... In principle he probably has the right to think what he does; it is his right to prove his views, to defend.... That is not our concern here and there would not be any particular point anyway in spelling all that out now in this place. We refer to this book only to show by what apparently secondary roads and by what means, what type of "arguments" this is being done today, since by all appearances this is not an isolated example. First, for instance, it is said of Marx not only that he committed "great errors," but also that he was "ignorant." Why: "because he laughed at Malthus' predictions about food and population."

The Domestic "New Philosophers"

After 100 years the humanistic ideas of the classics of Marxism "serve only as a slogan to win over the masses to communist ideas," the author says. And he

goes on: "We know that all people cannot manage what they are not familiar with, or, if they do, they may make irreparable errors which will be very costly to them, and in an advanced and increasingly complicated society, this could have catastrophic consequences. We therefore assert that this can be done only by those who know, by scientists, but not by the people, for whom democracy and false confidence in making decisions should not serve as a means for self-destruction," we are told by the philosophe nouveau.

So, even in our country old songs are coming into fashion.

Prvoslav Ralic, who delivered the introductory address at the recent meeting of the Presidium of the Belgrade City Conference of the LC, identified the domestic New Right as dogmatists (who have traveled the road from Marxist to national dogmatism), usually in a coalition with the bourgeois nationalistic intelligentsia. In this alliance many of them received "free passes" for ethnic representatives to national institutions. Among them, unfortunately, there are gifted people, Ralic observes, but also those others, without talent, whose souls are bought and sold, "who prove their creative failure or political frustration by the forcible politicization of the intellectual sphere, depriving it of its natural and internal creative existence."

Petar Zivadinovic: Local Imitators

Today we are more than ever witnesses to the use and abuse of science for the most diverse purposes. I would recall the so-called New Right in the world, and we have certain of its local imitators or self-styled advocates, no matter which, based on its own kind of synthesis and abuse of genetic, psychological and cultural-historical research. Under the guise of scholarly argumentation and reliance on recent results of science, the most reactionary political ideas about race, an elite, a hierarchy, inequality in society, as natural inevitabilities, are adorning themselves in a new fleece.

It must be clear to us that the doctrine of natural superiority of any particular social group or people over all others as a rule is an ideological rationalization of certain class interests, and even if it helps at times to bring down certain rulers, it has to result in establishment of new rulers. We dare not forget this, since discussions of this kind are being carried on not only in world science, but perhaps a bit covertly they are splashing even against our own shores, especially in recent years. After all, what else can be said of the arguments concerning pure race or pure ethnos, concerning perpetual territory, but that they are a revival of the myth of blood and soil. And that myth is based on the elementary abuse of biology and is therefore pseudoscientific.

It is indispensable, then, that Marxist categories and analyses become involved to a much greater extent in this research and frustrate their functionalization and abuse in day-to-day politics.

Alliances and Allies

One of the comparisons Ralic used was to say that our New Right is organizing itself "after the experience of the Masons," that it lays a monopoly claim to concern about "higher" cultural interests, falsely advocating dialogue, while at the same time it claims to be the arbiter in the dialogue; it is smothering young people with ideological blackmail, since it has the power of giving out positions in culture and creativity. "This is a great social evil which characterizes the Belgrade atmosphere and to a considerable extent is determining the cultural and ideological climate in the city," he concluded.

While paying due attention to "new ones," this discussion still did not evade the effect of "old ideological deformations which are offering resistance to the development of self-management": "We cannot close our eyes to a certain reorganization of bureaucratic-statist forces, to their effort to abuse the idea of self-management pluralism, the independence and equality of the republics and provinces, for their new pluralistic reorganization of statism at various levels of the organization of society," the speaker concluded in his introductory address.

As for the Right (it makes no difference whether it is the Old or New), the place of honor still had to be reserved for nationalistic ideas and their protagonists. Once again on this occasion, then, stress was put on the need for critical reevaluation of Serbian history and culture from the standpoint of Marxist theory and historical experience, as well as for affirmation of the liberative values within it, that is, "the comprehensive and combined cultural action of our ethnic cultures in this time as main lines of struggle against traditionalistic nationalism."

Let us also note down the assessment that "there is a sizable ideological, cultural and national need to enter the struggle against Serbian nationalism concretely, with selective and responsible analysis of its causes and manifestations; without cooking up nationalism where it does not exist, without seeking ideological parities in nationalism at any cost; a need for practice here, as everywhere, to be the criterion of truth, a need to realize that this is a nationalism which is objectively more dangerous in fact than that which is potentially possible.

In the ideological struggle against nationalism it is indispensable to have an optimum balance: to be against real nationalism, against its specific occurrence, but also against all those who are "'discovering' false nationalism."

"It is well known what stands behind the Right, i.e., it is well known what its own right wing stands for," said Bogdan Bogdanovic with his feel for figurative expression. "The Right in culture constitutes both an ominous principle and a malignant process. It is a principle which is manifested in disguise and is being adopted imperceptibly, and the process itself lasts a long time, exists latently in people before it breaks out into the open.... But, when matters take a turn for the worse, then the temperature rises as in any fever....

"However," B. Bogdanovic warns, "it is not pointless for us to reflect about the nonmaterial, ideological, but also existential offers of our self-managing Left, offers without the petty politician's strings. What is the future which we are opening up to the gifted young man? That perspective even for tomorrow should be sufficiently visible and sufficiently clear."

Dragisa Pavlovic: Whose Belgrade Is It

It is my intention to speak about what appears to be a trifle, the mistaken use, not to say abuse, of the adjective "Belgrade." When in a recent meeting of the city committee we were discussing the conduct of economic stabilization policy in Belgrade, someone uttered the following rhetorical question: Have we ceased to be a section of the Balkans and a province of Europe--this is shown much more by the lines for milk and meat than the Convention Center, the Intercontinental or the railway junction. We know, that is, where we have come from, where we are now, and where and why we are going.

That is why today, when we speak about the ideological situation in Belgrade and about the ideological struggle of party members, it would be good to avoid the inertia of the old memory of Belgrade. I see one form taken by that anachronistic recollection in the use of the adjective "Belgrade," in places where it does not belong: in abstract or blanket criticism of what is referred to as the Belgrade community. Yet Belgrade today is not the center of Obrenovic Serbia extending from the Zemun bridge to Ristovac and which is plucked from previous centuries.

Belgrade today is not the small Balkan capital at the outset of this century covered with dust in which a young working class is just coming of age and whose intellectuals are in a hurry to learn French. Nor is it the ambitious Karadjordjevic capital between the two wars which was imposing itself upon others--with the awkwardness of the peasant and the aggressiveness of the bourgeois; which is mixing mud with concrete, the crowds of newcomers with the so-called old settlers....

What is Belgrade today, in 1983?

It is today a large and modern city with a population of about 1.5 million, which in an economic crisis is experiencing very serious disruptions and pains of an abnormal boom, which is paying the tribute to overpopulation, a city with an almost Babylonian mixture of ways of life, nationalities, languages and generations. It is not only the capital of Serbia and of Yugoslavia, but it is also Yugoslavia in the small. Belgrade is today the administrative and business center and the university and intellectual center open both to the world and to the communities which surround it, dynamic and high-strung with internal vitality, often contradictory and always vigorous--a city in which is concentrated everything that constitutes Yugoslav socialist self-management in its progressive form. There is no need to enumerate, since it is clear to almost everyone who the inhabitants of Belgrade are, how large and of what kind its working class, and how many party members it has and what they are doing.

On the one hand Belgrade is far from idyllic--a complicated community inclined to rapid change, full of internal tensions, and a city with quite a few economic, social and other problems, a living picture of our entire self-managing and socialist society which, though it may be going through a crisis, is driving forward toward an uncertain, but certainly humanistic future.

People are familiar, then, with the commitments of Belgraders, they know the aims of Belgrade, and the means and social strategies have been agreed on as those of self-management, democracy and socialism. That is why there is truly no need to derive from Belgrade a negative adjective as is done in the coining of phrases such as "Belgrade politicians," "the Belgrade press," "Belgrade writers." Pejorative catchwords of this kind are rather an expression of an intimidated provincial consciousness--if that still exists.

Certainly there are certain conditions and problems which do evoke such expressions, what I would refer to as the coinings of petty politicians, and we all know of some of them. But we should always bear in mind the major fact that Belgrade has about 250,000 party members and that it is prepared within the framework of the unified Serbian LC, without imposing its formulas on anyone, to solve everything that is a hindrance, to separate the black from the white, the progressive from the conservative, the socialist from the unsocialist, to prevent a restoration of bourgeois consciousness, dogmatism and Stalinism in all forms of the life of society.

Not to believe that, not to be certain of it, would signify doubt of such a large body of party members, mistrust of their good faith, commitment and consciousness. There is, then, truly no real need for expression of such doubt, not even in the mistaken use of the adjective "Belgrade."

Criticism Turned Inward

Vaso Milincevic, who participated in this discussion, said that the confusion of esthetics and politics, as well as of science and politics, is nothing new nor unusual. It is just that sometimes it is done more intensively, aggressively and systematically, and there is a need to sort out what is what in good time. He, as well as others, took note of occurrences "whose purpose is to discredit in science and art everything that has a clear ideological commitment in the spirit of the ideology and policy of the League of Communists--as propaganda, embellishment, dogmatism, and so on."

Under the guise of so-called objective science, the complete picture of social developments in the past is distorted by the selection of isolated facts, put together in tendentious fashion, Milincevic said. That is, certain general axioms are taken, and then from that height and from the standpoint of this kind of self-styled theoretical thought, knuckles are rapped and lectures read to everyone who attempts to evaluate and examine a literary work differently, as a social fact and not only as an esthetic fact....

The point is that there are renewed voices for restoring poetry solely to the poets and culture solely to those who work in the field of culture. I think

that an appeal of that kind cannot be taken up, nor can such a policy, in just the same way that politics cannot belong solely to the politicians, Milincevic concludes.

Making comparisons with a kind of flood tide of conservative theories in the West, especially since the bourgeois counterstrike in 1968, Ivo Pajic estimates that discussions of this kind reach us after a certain lag. Like echoes resounding in our "actuality" and in the criticism of our intellectual situation which is not sufficiently radical. He feels that "we have not carried out self-criticism at the level which the times call for, nor have we been radical enough in this, and that this applies above all to the League of Communists."

Mihailo Popovic used a similar tone in his assessment that the League of Communists has not been sufficiently concrete in some of its assessments to date that sometimes those assessments are not critical or self-critical enough. "I think that at least in part the assessment of our socioeconomic situation presented in the documents of the 12th LCY Congress, especially in the study delivered by Comrade Dragosavac, is at least in part superseded," Popovic said. "Nothing very serious is said there about the economic and broader social crisis, and by and large the problems we confront are represented as a consequence of our not having implemented the economic and political system in practice. Yet the system itself was not subjected sufficiently to critical analysis."

Popovic also spoke about a "tendency to moderate assessments of the severity of the situation" and of "schematic simplification of the basic contradictions in our society's development." Everything, he said, is mainly reduced to the opposition between self-management and statism, which is somewhat reminiscent of theological conceptions of the struggle between good and evil--the devil is only black, the angel always white.

New Fleece for Old Myths

Calling attention to the "political passivization of the workers and the masses in general," Popovic criticizes the political factors of society for the "high degree of unself-criticalness," and in certain cases of even "the inability to see the real situation and relations." Recalling that the League of Communists dare not be any sort of commanding force outside or above the system, to behave as a "conductor who only conducts and does not assume responsibility," Popovic said: "I would like to be wrong, but I am afraid that the League of Communists is becoming a political conductor whose accountability is growing slack or, still worse, the orchestra is ceasing to follow this conductor's directions."

Only a few days before the meeting in the Belgrade City Committee of the LC, which is where the quotations above come from, there was also a meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee in which there was discussion of scientific and technological development and the tasks of the League of Communists. Here again, in a somewhat different context, there was discussion of the New Right in the world and in our own country.

"Under the guise of scholarly argumentation and reliance on recent results of science, the most reactionary political ideas about race, an elite, a hierarchy, inequality in society, as natural inevitabilities, are adorning themselves in a new fleece," Petar Zivadinovic, who delivered the introductory address, warned on that occasion, adding that "discussions of this kind are splashing even against our own shores. After all, what else can be said of the arguments concerning pure race or pure ethnos, concerning perpetual territory, but that they are a revival of the myth of blood and soil," Zivadinovic said.

Similar tones were also heard at the first conference of the Croatian LC in Zagreb, which was held recently. Jure Bilic, for example, spoke in his report about the "refined global strategy and scenarios of certain centers of world power" directed toward activity against Yugoslavia. The scenario, Bilic said, runs like this:

"Apparent maintenance of the status quo in foreign policy toward Yugoslavia; removal of communist rule in the SFRY in whatever form; systematic aid and publicity to various oppositionist groups; popularization of dissidents, who need not even be markedly anticommunist. What is more, it is better for them to have a more humanistic orientation, for that support to be linked to the campaign concerning human rights and to the use of international organizations toward the goal of protecting political prisoners; the aiding of centralistic forces in Yugoslavia, and at the same time of separatist-nationalistic forces, since both are natural enemies of communism as an ideology, especially since the past, according to them, demonstrates that the idea of nationalism is stronger than the idea of communism; the attributing of exceptional importance in the ideological struggle against communism in Yugoslavia to cultural and ideological infiltration through the mass media; accentuation of the consumerist mentality, since it refutes all the theories of communistic egalitarianism better than many political actions, and in that context the support of the marketing of those goods which have an influence on the consumerist mentality; development of those economic relations with Yugoslavia which lead it into dependence, in which connection debts have exceptional importance...."

It is obvious, then, that the country's political life has been "enriched" by an important topic which is not to be underestimated.

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